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ABSTRACT

This report reviews the pioneering efforts in California, Florida, and South Carolina to foster citizen participation through school councils and provides data and analysis on one promising policy innovation in each of the states. The experience in the three states suggests that institutional mechanisms are in place, precedents have been set, and a consensus is emerging for the evolution of school councils as vehicles for "coproduction" whereby parents act as partners rather than as advisors to or watchdogs of schools. Coproduction as envisioned in the report requires (1) an organized, institutionalized procedure: (2) a focus on the core of the school's program--instruction, especially in the basic skills: (3) collaborative planning by producers and a consensus on instructional goals based on formal discussion and negotiation: (4) a division of labor and clear assignment of responsibilities among various coproducers: and (5) the sharing of both authority and blame. The report concludes that the characteristics of schools as organizations set a limit on what policy objectives can be accomplished by mandating councils. (Author/MLF)

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Leading the Way

State Mandates for School Advisory Councils in California, Florida and South Carolina

Ross Zerchykov & Don Davies with Janet Chrispeels

August 1980

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LEADING THE WAY: STATE MANDATES FOR SCHOOL ADVISORY COUNCILS IN CALIFORNIA, FLORIDA AND SOUTH CAROLINA

A Report

by

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Funded by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation

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A NOTE ABOUT TERMINOLOGY

Much confusion can result from the vagaries of local usage--different terminologies and their corresponding acronyms. For example: in Florida, Councils are called Local School Advisory Committees (LASC's); in California, they are School Site Councils (SSC's); in South Carolina, they are desigrated as School Advisory Councils (SAC's). Except when quoting or closely paraphrasing official State policies or other site-specific documents, the generic, proper noun, "Councils," will be used in referring to those State-mandated structures. There are also local and regional variations in proper names for school districts (or systems, or departments) and State Departments of Education and their chief executives (e.g., Commissioner vs. State Superintendent). To avoid confusion, the following conventional and generic acronyms and expressions will be employed: SEA (State Education Agency); LEA (Local Education Agency); and, Chief State School Officer. Finally, following the recommended usage in the Federal Style Manual, the term, State, "will appear as a proper name when that term denotes a corporate entity rather than merely a geographical area.

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PREFACE

This Report is a part of the multi-year School Councils Project conducted by the Institute for Responsive Education (IRE) and funded by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation of Flint, Michigan. The overall objective of the Project, begun in August 1979, is to increase citizen participation effectiveness through mandated School Councils. More specifically, the Project aims to provide information and assistance that will aid local and State policymakers and to increase local-State partnerships that will improve schools through citizen participation.

The Project is built around the work of state-level citizens' organizations in the three States which have pioneered the fostering of citizen participation through School Councils--California, Florida and South Carolina. The Project provides funds and technical assistance which are aimed at increasing the capacity of three state organizations--the Information Project on Education: Network (IPEN), in California; the Florida Education Council's Committee on Citizen Participation; and, the Citizens' Coalition for South Carolina Public Schools.

IPEN, which is affiliated with IRE, was created in 1978 as a research and technical assistance program. Much of its work has been focused on encouraging citizen participation in educational collective bargaining in California, and in monitoring the public access provisions of the State's collective bargaining law. These efforts have been funded by the Rosenberg Foundation. After the passage of the California School Improvement Program, IPEN expanded its activities to include helping the newly organized site Councils. As a part of the IRE School Councils Project during 1979-80, IPEN has carried out a variety of activities which include the following:

- Developing a statewide network of individuals and groups working to assist School Councils
- Developing training materials and conducting seminars for School Council chairpeople
- Sponsoring meetings for local and state citizen leaders
- Providing information and help to local school districts, Councils and parent groups

- Consulting with the State Department of Education
- Studying and analyzing a sample of the reports from the 1978-79 State Department of Education's Monitoring and Review visits to School Improvement Programs

The Florida Educational Council (FEC) was created by the State legislature. Its membership includes the Governor, members of the legislature, other public members appointed by the Governor, the leadership of the legislature, and four members of district or school advisory committees appointed by the Commissioner of Education. During 1979-80, as a part of the School Councils Project, the FEC, through its Citizen Participation Committee:

- Prepared and distributed two issues of a newsletter for school advisory committees, "Your Schools."
- Made site visits to a sample of local Councils which received mini-grants under Florida's Educational Improvement Grant Program.
- Sponsored (jointly with the Florida School Board Association and the Department of Education) a statewide meeting for district and school site citizen advisory committee leaders.
- Provided information and technical assistance to districts and Councils.
- Proposed a bill (passed by the Florida legislature) designating the FEC as the chief state-level monitoring and coordinating body for both district and school site advisory committees.

The Citizens' Coalition for South Carolina Public Schools is an independent, statewide group which is committed to full funding for public schools, a fair distribution of State resources among school districts, and full citizen involvement in the public schools. Recently incorporated, its 21 member Board includes representatives from all parts of the State and from groups representing parents, educators and other civic organizations. Half of the Board members are members of local School Councils mandated under South Carolina State law. The present Coalition is an outgrowth of the previous Citizens' Coalition for South Carolina School Financing, which was composed of a nucleus of ten statewide organizations representing civil rights, education, business, religion, and agricultural interests who shared a commitment to equitable school finance. That earlier nucleus was instrumental in

securing the passage of South Carolina's Education Finance Act of 1977, whose mandate for citizen participation through School Councils is one of the foci of this Report.

In 1979-80, the Coalition broadened its constituency to include representatives of local School Councils. As a part of the School Councils Project in 1979-80, the Coalition has:

- Visited and provided assistance to local Councils.
- Prepared and distributed brochures on the status of the implementation of the School Finance Act, including the School Councils.
- Monitored legislative activity and reported to its members.
- Coordinated efforts with a school advisory assistance project at the University of South Carolina.

In addition to the work in the three States, the Project facilitated the exchange of information among the States involved in the Project, and provided information and technical assistance to educators and citizens from other States. Packets of materials have been prepared for distribution to those seeking assistance.

The Project is planned to continue in operation for two additional years. An invitational national conference will be held for policy-makers, educators and citizens interested in School Councils in 1982.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Report has been made possible by the interest and work of the staff and leadership of the three participating organizations in California, Florida and South Carolina. The authors wish to acknowledge the contributions of the IPEN Director, Mrs. Jackie Berman; the late Mrs. Ellen Ainsworth, who was Co-Director of IPEN until her death in early 1980; Janet Chrispeels, the principal field coordinator for the Project; and Roberta Hollimon, IPEN's Office Manager and Project Associate.

The authors also recognize the valuable contributions of Marshall Harris, the Staff Director of the Florida Education Council; Mrs. Wray Register, Vice-Chairperson of the Council and Chair of the Committee on Citizen Participation; and Mrs. Roberta Huey, Editor of the Council's newsletter, "Your Schools."

Leadership in South Carolina has come from Mrs. Joy Sovde, former Chairperson (and now Executive Committee Member) of the Citizens Coalition, and Richard Lawrence, currently the Coalition Chairperson.

Special thanks are given to Mrs. Dana Rudolph, IRE Office Manager, who typed the manuscript and offered other valuable help, and to IRE staff member Gian Lombardo, for his editorial and production assistance.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the Federal system of government, each State can be seen metaphorically as a laboratory for public policy experimentation. This Report is about three such experiments: State mandates for citizen participation via School Councils in California, Florida and South Carolina. In reviewing such experiments, several conclusions can be drawn.

First, when seen within the context of recent Federal and State initiatives for formal citizen participation in education, State policies in California, Florida and South Carolina are truly "leading the way" for further efforts in the 1980's.

Second, initiatives in the three States confirm the apparent paradox that strong action by central governments is necessary for the promotion and nurturing of local, grassroots democracy.

Third, the success and, hence, replicability of the three State mandates for School Councils needs to be assessed in terms of a more realistic understanding of what Councils as mandated bodies can or cannot accomplish. A review of the research and evaluation literature suggests, at first glance, that mandated Councils have not been generally effective. But, an analysis of the evidence, which supports the claim that Councils are ineffective, reveals, however, a misunderstanding of the inherent difference between mandated, public representative bodies such as Councils and voluntary, private and, hence, independent community interest groups. Public policies which recognize that distinction can maximize the potential of Councils as vehicles for citizen involvement. Also, it is equally important to understand the organizational structure of school systems. A review of the growing body of research on the organizational characteristics of schools, for example, shows that the addition of a new, externally mandated structure (i.e., the School Council) requires changes in established ways of thinking and behaving within schools.

Fourth, organizational inertia on the part of school systems represents a limit on what policy objectives can be accomplished through mandating Councils. A school site Council, for example, cannot be expected

to have a significant role in educational policy decisions about program, budget or staff until and unless the authority to make policy decisions in those matters is vested at the school site. Nor, given the existing hierarchies of authority within school systems, can Councils play a realistic role in school management and administration. Managerial decisions are implicated in a web of hierarchical patterns of authority, responsibility and accountability. School Councils, especially advisory Councils, have no formal place in that hierarchy. As a consequence, despite the intentions of policymakers and the expectations of many citizens, School Councils do not and cannot, within present arrangements, play a role as agencies of accountability. Moreover, as inside organizations, Councils cannot function as watchdogs.

Fifth, an organizational perspective confirmed by data from the three States suggests that State policies are more successfully implemented when they are clear, specific and prescriptive rather than permissive. Minimum requirements become maximum performances. Enunciation of discretionary and/or open-ended functions for Councils creates confusion and conflict rather than creative responses to State policy initiatives. Uncertainty heightens citizens' expectations beyond those which a Council can reasonably accomplish and requires risk-taking on the part of educators who are constrained by the organizational imperatives of their formal role within a school's hierarchy.

Finally, the experience of the three States suggests that the groundwork has been laid--institutional mechanisms are in place, precedents have been set, and a consensus is emerging--for the evolution of School Councils as vehicles for "co-production" whereby parents act as partners rather than advisors to, or watchdogs of, schools' efforts to improve instruction.

This Report concludes with a discussion of the concept of co-production. Co-production means a mixing of the organized productive efforts of the "regular" producers of educational services (i.e., teachers, counselors, administrators, specialists), the direct consumers (i.e., students), and the indirect consumers (i.e., parents). Co-production has several policy implications. Its characteristics are: (i) it focuses on the core of the schools' program--instruction and basic skills--and on organized, formal,

institutionalized efforts to improve school effectiveness; (ii) it requires collaborative planning by the "regular" and "consumer" producers and a consensus on instructional goals based on formal discussion and negotiation; (iii) it requires that consensus and planning be followed by a division of labor and an assignment of responsibility among the various co-producers; (iv) it requires sharing of authority and blame; and (v) it requires a collaborative process for the assessment of goal-achievement and refinement of plans to achieve those goals. Co-production, if understood in terms of the five characteristics identified immediately above, requires an institutionalized mechanism at the school site. School site Councils, which are already in place as a result of State mandates, represent a potential vehicle for co-production. This Report concludes with some suggestions of ways in which State policies can, within the context of present mandates, nurture the subsequent evolution of Councils as vehicles for co-production and, hence, for school improvement.

SECTION ONE: INTRODUCTION

The late V.O. Key, Jr. (1967), a pioneer in the empirical study of American government, noted that there is one great, albeit unintended advantage to our Federal system. Due to the decentralization of certain public policy responsibilities to the States, it promotes public policy experimentation. Each State is, in one sense, a "laboratory" for public policy innovations which can be adapted for use in other States even though such innovations are designed to meet state-specific needs.

In public policy as in science, the utility of "an experiment," its efficacy in advancing the state of knowledge and practice of governance, lies in dissemination: "experiments" advance science and, in this case, practice if their results are disseminated. The dissemination of results--the experience of California, Florida and South Carolina in mandating citizen participation through School Councils--is the primary objective of this Report. Its intent is not to formally evaluate those experiences either on external or internal criteria. Nor is this a comparative study or evaluation. The three State policies are not compared against each other or against some external standard: such comparisons are not useful since State policies reflect particular State needs, histories and conditions. Moreover, the scope and methodology of this study, of which this present Report is but one component, do not permit any conclusions to be drawn about the local impact of these State policies. Although evidence is presented, some of it hitherto unpublished, of various state-level efforts, both public and private, to assess the impact of these three State policies mandating School Councils, the primary focus is on the policies themselves.

The aim of the Report, then, is to increase public awareness about:

- The origins and character of State policies mandating School Councils in California, Florida and South Carolina.

- Available evidence on the efficacy of such policies in order that other States contemplating similar policies may learn from the experiences of those three States.
- Replicable practices--innovative models developed in those three States--which 'lead the way' for future public policy initiatives fostering citizen participation in schools.

This Report contains seven Sections. Section Two highlights the innovative nature of State policies in California, Florida and South Carolina by situating them against the background of existing Federal and State government policies that foster citizen participation in education. That background consists of over a decade and a half of Federal initiatives; the impact of such initiatives on the State role in public schooling; recent State initiatives across the nation in the direction of greater citizen involvement; and, finally, the common origins, in light of State efforts to reform and equalize school finance, of the mandates for School Councils in the three States of California, Florida and South Carolina.

Section Three presents a summary of the research and evaluation literature on the nationwide experience with School Councils. That nationwide experience provides the context for the specific State practices discussed in Sections Four, Five and Six, which deal with California, Florida and South Carolina, respectively. In each of those Sections, the focus is on specific State policies, models and practices which can be adapted by other States interested in fostering citizen participation in education. For example: The national evidence suggests that evaluations can be a means for influencing local behavior. In effect, 'you get what you evaluate.' Section Four describes California's systematic 'Program Review Process," which embodies a strategy for the formative evaluation of School Councils. That fourth section not only describes the model, its instruments, but also presents a summary of the results of this model for evaluating Councils based on a systematic statewide sample of Program Reviews.

The research and evaluation literature also suggests that access to resources--materials and/or money and staff--is one condition necessary for the organizational effectiveness of School Councils. Section

Five highlights Florida's "Education Improvement Grants" program. This program awards from $300 to $5,000 to local schools, Councils, and other community organizations annually. These grants may provide for Advisory Council maintenance and training or they may provide for other purposes. In each case, however, all grant proposals and granted projects must actively involve local School Advisory Councils. The Florida grant program not only represents a model of State assistance for Councils, but also acts as a financial incentive for increased collaboration between mandated Councils and voluntary community organizations with an interest in school improvement. The material in Section Five not only describes the Florida mini-grant program but also presents a statistical breakdown of the patterns of granting for Fiscal Year 1978-79: Who gets funded? how much? and for what purposes?

Another common denominator associated with School Councils' effectiveness is clarity of goals. Goals, however, cannot be exclusively internally generated by institutions such as School Councils since their existence is externally mandated and their functions are the result, not only of the language of the mandate, but also of negotiations between a Council and those whom it represents and advises. Operationally, clarity of goals depends on a consensus on functions. And, experience suggests that this consensus on functions will be a negotiated consensus resulting from processes of mutual adaptation, that is, other "actors" in the school community will adapt and "make room for" new structures such as Councils. To be successful, this process requires the support or, at least, an acceptance on the part of other education interest groups--teachers, administrators, and school board members. Section Six presents and analyzes survey data, some of it hitherto unpublished, which reveal emerging areas of consensus and disagreement within South Carolina on appropriate functions for Councils as perceived by Council members, principals, superintendents, and school boards.

The seventh and concluding Section summarizes and highlights those policies, structures and practices in the three States of California, Florida and South Carolina which truly 'lead the way'

for others interested in fostering citizen participation. That Section distinguishes between those practices which are contextually determined and those which can be replicated in other States. Such a distinction, of course, can never be complete or clear cut. There is one crucial difference between laboratory experiments in science and public policy innovations. The former, if valid, must be absolutely replicable; the latter are never absolutely replicable and are most useful when they are adapted to fit different circumstances. Section Seven also suggests, based on the evidence in Sections Three through Six, what policymakers should not expect to be able to accomplish by mandating Advisory Councils.

Data for the discussion in those seven Sections of this Report as described above come from both primary and original, and from secondary sources. Primary sources include public, but not necessarily published or widely disseminated, documents such as copies of relevant legislation, regulations, staff reports and memoranda, and State Education Agency administrative records which document the practices highlighted in this Report. Original data come from secondary analyses and statistical breakdowns performed on administrative records (in Sections Four and Five) and survey results (in Section Six) that have yet to be published. Primary and original data sources are identified and described in more detail in the methodological introductions to the various Sections of this Report. Secondary sources include previously documented research and evaluation studies on Advisory Councils, current through December of 1979, not only in the three States but also across the nation. Secondary sources are referenced in the text and, together with all public documents, are listed in the Bibliography. Preparation of this Report was also preceeded by over 30 interviews, conducted in October - November of 1979, with policymakers (in both the legislative and executive branches) and leaders of key, state-level, education interest groups--PTA's, Teacher and Administrator associations, etc.--in each of the three States.

SECTION TWO. BACKGROUND: GOVERNMENT POLICIES FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Councils are an ubiquitous and increasingly popular mechanism for mandated citizen participation. Many schools have had over a decade of experience with such structures. The significance, however, of State mandates for Councils in California, Florida and South Carolina can best be appreciated in comparison to policies across the nation which foster citizen participation in education through mandated Councils.

2.1 BACKGROUND: PATTERNS OF GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The term "participation" is immediately and intuitively associated with the term "grassroots." And, if "grassroots" means anything, it means "local." Many mandates for increased citizen participation in schools intend to decentralize school decisionmaking in order to increase local, public involvement. Yet, with the exception of abortive grassroots (primarily urban-based) movements for community control in the late 1960's and early 1970's, these initiatives have not emanated from local authorities or local public pressure. Paradoxically, it has been the distant, central authorities--the Federal government and the States--which have opened avenues for citizen participation.

2.1.1 Federal Initiatives

The initial impetus for increased citizen involvement in educational programs and policymaking came from the Federal government. Much of this impetus stemmed from a national concern with poverty and urban unrest in the mid-1960's.

The Economic Opportunities Act, for example, created both the Head Start and Follow Through programs. Head Start sought to compensate children from three to five years old for perceived home and community deficits in health, nutrition, and educational development. Follow

Through sought to continue special support for low-income children into the early public school years, and to develop new and more effective models for teaching these children. Both programs were reformist in spirit and both included parents and citizens in decisionmaking concerning the program by mandating parent councils with specified policymaking and monitoring functions.

The major breakthrough, however, came with the landmark Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 which followed the "War On Poverty" legislation by one year and, with its several subsequent revisions, established for the first time redistributive and compensatory policies for Federal assistance to public schools. ESEA had a five-fold impact on Federal policies for education.

First, ESEA had a profound impact on the scope of Federal involvement in education. For example, in 1960 the United States Office of Education's budget for elementary and secondary education was less than one-half of one percent of the costs of local public education. By 1980, more than eight billion Federal dollars were earmarked for public school purposes, comprising about nine percent of the total costs for operating local schools.

Second, ESEA set the pattern for subsequent Federal initiatives in education. The various titled programs (e.g., Title I, Title VII) which constitute ESEA direct assistance to specific, "target" populations--children from low-income families, the handicapped, and those with little or no English language ability. Subsequent Federal initiatives not only aimed to help the disadvantaged but also to effect institutional renewal and reforms through which local school systems would be more responsive to the needs of diverse populations. For example, during the late 1960's and early 1970's, scores of new Federal categorical programs with system-reform intent were initiated. These included: (i) Teacher Corps, which aimed at improving teacher training for poverty-area schools; (ii) the Education Professional Development Act, designed to increase the number of low-income and minority personnel in the schools; and (iii) the Experimental Schools Program, which developed innovative approaches to instruction and school-community relations.

Third, ESEA and subsequent programs such as Teacher Corps contained client participation requirements, and, thus, continued the practice of mandating participation which first distinquished Head Start and Follow Through. Beginning in 1970, Federal policymakers began mandating formal channels for parent and community representation in planning and implementing Federal programs. Advisory Committees became the predominant mode for such representation. Parent Advisory Committees (PAC's), first district-wide and then at building level, for Title I, the largest program directed at poor children, and for Title VII, bilingual education, were mandated. By 1977, Federally-mandated parent advisory committees existed in nearly every school district in the nation.

Fourth, these Federal participation requirements were part of, and may have helped to precipitate, the growing recognition that citizens have certain rights vis-a-vis public education. The articulation and re-affirmation of those rights, particularly by Federal courts, has opened new avenues for citizen participation. For example, in most of the desegregation decisions since 1971, the courts explicitly recognized that citizen participation is a vehicle for gaining community support for school desegregation and for enlisting citizens' help in the implementation of court orders. In most cases, the courts created blue-ribbon citywide committees. In some cases, notably in Boston, district and building-level committees were established. The Court-mandated committees usually have been granted legal standing to challenge school authorities on their implementation of desegregation plans. Similarly, Federal courts have bolstered legislatively-created parent and citizen advisory committees by granting them standing in court (Baxter, 1979:61).

Fifth, and finally, these Federal initiatives in education had an institutional impact upon the States; new roles and responsibilities were created; capacity and authority were enhanced; and patterns of fostering citizen participation were established.

2.1.2 Impact Upon the States

State governments were not immune to the climate of opinion which Federal initiatives were, in part, responding to and, in part, creating. Moreover, given the existing Federal system, State institutions were

themselves caught up in the increased role of central authorities in local schools. Most of the Federal programs and participation mandates required State Education Agencies (SEA's) to assume new fiscal, reporting and technical assistance responsibilities. ESEA, and other programs, provided funds for administering the new programs and for augmenting the management and information capacity of SEA's. The size of SEA staffs expanded rapidly along with their administrative sophistication and political influence. Federal planning and reporting requirements spurred those SEA's to develop improved methods for collecting and analyzing information and statistics and for producing needs assessments and State plans.

Federal initiatives, however, also affected State governments in general. Temple University's Center for the Study of Federalism has documented the quiet revolution which transformed State governments since the 1950's and has resulted in substantial increases in the general capacities of State executive and legislative branches to formulate and implement policy (Elazar, 1974). This strengthening of State governments has had a direct and specific effect on educational policy and practice. Alan Rosenthal, Director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, links States' growing involvement in education to changes in their legislatures' capacity to formulate and implement policy, including the development of a strong committee system with staff, longer sessions, and a more highly educated membership due to reapportionment caused by the Supreme Court's "one-man-one-vote" decision (Rosenthal, 1977).

2.1.3 Patterns of State Policymaking in Education

Increased State policymaking capacity and the need to develop State programs to parallel or supplement Federal initiatives also led to new State initiatives in education. States now contribute the largest share of the total costs of operating local public elementary and secondary schools. (In 1979-80, approximately 48 percent of local costs come from State sources; 43 percent from local sources; and 9 percent from the Federal level.) State initiatives, however, are not merely the result of Federal funding priorities and increased State capacity--in both the legislative and executive branches. State

efforts regarding these initiatives are animated by three concerns: accountability, equity and preservation of local control.

(i) Accountability. SEA's responsibilities in implementing Federal programs and in implementing an increased number of State legislative initiatives have placed greater pressure on those SEA's to monitor local authorities in order to assure their adherence to State intentions. Many citizen participation mandates by States, then, stem from the desire by State legislatures to account for and monitor the use of State funds and also to ensure proper local implementation of State mandated programs. Interviews conducted by the Institute for Responsive Education during 1976-79, as part of a 3-year nationwide study of citizen participation in education funded by the National Institute of Education, revealed a consistent pattern of State policymaker distrust of local officials' willingness or capacity to properly execute State initiated programs.

(ii) Equity. Like Federal initiatives, many State mandated policies in the past decade stem from equity efforts, attempts to equalize opportunity and compensate for various perceived deficits in children and their families. Similarly, State courts have played an important role. The court role, has been most significant in mandating school finance reform (e.g., the Serrano decision in California), and in requiring public schools to improve services to handicapped children. State legislative and executive initiatives have also provided major changes in school finance formulas and practices. Efforts to distribute monies in a more equitable manner provided the impetus for new initiatives in California, Florida and South Carolina.

(iii) Preservation of Local Control. There is a relationship between State efforts to foster citizen participation and the increased exercise of State authority in local school affairs. The creation of Councils, for example, is seen by many State policymakers as a way of counteracting the expansion of State influence and preserving local control of education. Policymakers recognize that State power increases as the share of local costs coming from State sources increases. Councils established in South Carolina and

Florida were reportedly viewed by policymakers as forces counter-balancing stronger State influences.

2.1.4 State Initiatives for Participation

In 1977, IRE and the Education Commission of the States conducted a mail survey of the States to identify laws and regulations related to citizen participation in educational decisionmaking (Clasby, 1978: 28-56). Some State-initiated activity was found in each of the 27 responding States.

(i) Executive Branch Initiatives. All but five of the responding States included documentation of activities initiated by their SEA's, or State Boards of Education. These initiatives included: the creation of State-level advisory groups (Louisiana); participatory planning projects (California, Florida, Alaska, New Hampshire, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia, Washington, Wyoming); and surveys (Maryland, Illinois, Rhode Island, West Virginia).

(ii) Legislative Initiatives for Councils. Seventeen States reported legislation which can be classified into two main types. First, some laws authorized the Chief State School Officer to appoint State commissions or task forces that included citizen representatives. Other laws (or State Board regulations) established Advisory Committees which were to develop State plans required by Federal legislation. In most of these instances, the vehicle was some type of blue-ribbon state-level Advisory Committee which included professional as well as lay membership. Besides the three States examined in this Report, there existed only a few, additional States which have effected initiatives to encourage local-level participation. One example is the Colorado Accountability Act of 1971 which required the establishment of local-level Advisory Councils to participate in a comprehensive planning process. In a few other instances--Alaska, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Rhode Island--legislation mandated local-level Advisory Committees for special categorical State programs such as bilingual or handicapped education, or community schools.

(iii) Other Legislative Initiatives. Six other States reported recent legislation encouraging LEA's to make provisions, not necessarily via Advisory Councils, for citizen participation in planning or

evaluating State-funded improvements in school programs: New Jersey, Texas, West Virginia, South Dakota, Virginia and North Carolina.

(iv) Summary. The equity objective is present in many of the reported State initiatives to foster participation. This objective was at the root of initiatives in the three States which are the subject of this Report: California, Florida and South Carolina. And, it is only in these three States that the State governments mandated formal participation by parents and citizens at the school site.

2.2 CALIFORNIA: ASSEMBLY BILL 65 AND SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT COUNCILS

California's mandate for School Site Councils is part of a State incentive program for local school improvement. That incentive program, the School Improvement Program (SIP), provides State grants for schools which develop locally designed school improvement plans. This Program is, in turn, part of Assembly Bill 65 (AB 65) signed into law in September 1977. AB 65 is an omnibus school finance reform package which was directed at: (i) fiscal equity by closing the gap between high-spending and low-spending districts and diverting more State aid to the latter; (ii) educational equity by providing additional State monies for students with special educational needs; and (iii) educational improvement by expanding the previous Early Childhood Education (ECE) program, which was targeted specifically at the primary grades, into a more comprehensive School Improvement Program encompassing grades K - 12.

Parental involvement is integral to the School Improvement Program as spelled out in AB 65. Section 52016 specifies that:

> In elementary schools the school improvement plan shall, in addition, include: (a) the active involvement of parents in classroom activities and in other aspects of the school improvement program....

Moreover, Section 52016(b) requires that "parent education regarding the growth and development of children" shall be an integral part of any funded school improvement plan.

The legislation, however, also mandates decisionmaking roles for parents. It specifies (Section 52010) that "no school shall receive

funds pursuant to this chapter unless a planning application or school improvement plan has been approved for the school pursuant to this chapter," and goes on to mandate that (Section 52012):

> A school site council shall be established at each school which participates in the school improvement program authorized in this chapter.

However, the legislative mandate also provides for local options, and states that:

> Existing schoolwide advisory groups or school district support groups may be utilized as the school site council if such groups conform to the provisions of this section.

Membership composition provisions stress peer-group representation (Section 5012[a]):

> The council shall be composed of the principal and representatives of teachers selected by teachers at the school; other school personnel selected by other school personnel at the school; parents of pupils attending the school selected by such parents, and in secondary schools pupils selected by pupils attending the school.

Section 5012(b) also enjoins that there be "parity," i.e., equal distribution of representation between citizens and educators:

> At the elementary level the council shall be constituted to ensure parity between: (a) the principal, classroom teachers and other school personnel; and (b) parents and other community members selected by parents.... At the secondary level the council shall be constituted to ensure parity between (a) the principal, classroom teachers and other school personnel, and (b) equal number of parents and students.

"Community member" was previously defined in Section 52001(b) as any:

> person who is neither in the employment of the school district, nor a parent or guardian of a pupil attending the participating school.

Finally, "parity" is so defined as to give citizens and teachers a preponderant majority of the Council. Section 52012 goes on to state that:

> At both the elementary and the secondary levels, classroom teachers shall comprise the majority of persons represented under subdivisions (a) of this section.

With respect to membership selection, as opposed to composition, the mandate is, except for its clear statement of "parity," permissive rather than prescriptive:

> The term and method of selection and replacement of council members shall be specified in the school improvement plan developed pursuant to Section 52014. The Superintendent of Public Schools shall provide several examples of selection and replacement procedures which may be considered by school site councils.

In other words, as part of the School Improvement Plans (whose components are spelled out in Section 52014), Councils shall determine their own terms of membership and selection procedures.

Councils' functions and responsibilities mandated in this legislation include the development of a three-year school improvement plan based on "an assessment of school capability to meet the educational needs of each pupil. Such plans are to specify improvement objectives, and indicate steps necessary to meet such objectives, including intended outcomes" (Section 52014). Moreover, Councils must also monitor the implementation of subsequent School Improvement Plans which are approved by local Boards of Education and which are reviewed and funded by the State. However, implementation is the responsibility of school staff (Section 52020):

> ...certified personnel shall design and implement instructional techniques consistent with objectives established by the school site council... (Emphasis not in original.)

Councils monitor (Section 52021) the implementation of School Improvement objectives:

> The school site Council, following approval of a school improvement plan by the governing board, shall have ongoing responsibility to review with the principal, teachers and other school personnel and pupils the implementation of the school improvement program and assess periodically the effectiveness of such programs.

Moreover, in Section 52034 (a) detailing School Board functions, the legislation further states:

> No plan shall be approved unless it was developed and recommended by a school site council. In the event any plan is not approved by the governing board, specific reasons for such action shall be communicated to the council. Modifications to any school improvement plan shall be developed, recommended, and approved or disapproved in the same manner.

Finally, Sections 52035(e) and 52038, which specify the duties of the Chief State School Officer, provide the legislative authority to conduct periodic internal and long range external reviews and evaluations of all aspects of local school improvement programs including the site Councils. It is this authorization which sanctions California's SEA-conducted Program Reviews whose strategy and results are discussed in depth in Section Four.

2.3 FLORIDA: THE EDUCATION FINANCE PROGRAM OF 1973

Florida's mandate for Local School Advisory Committees was enacted in 1973 as part of the Florida Education and Finance Program (FEFP). Like California's AB 65, FEFP is a school finance reform measure which attempts to: (i) equalize funding among districts; (ii) address special needs by a system of pupil weightings whereby each pupil is counted according to the amount of his needs and the cost of providing an education to meet those special needs; (iii) decentralize some education decisions to the school building level by encouraging and supporting (but not mandating) LEA's to experiment with systems of school-based management*; and (iv) increase citizen involvement by requiring LEA's to set up either school or district level Citizens Advisory Committees charged with assisting in the preparation and public circulation of "Annual Reports of School Progress." Current legislation allows

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* School-Based Management (SBM) is a model designed to decentralize authority and promote flexibility in school programs. It embodies four major concepts: (i) school site budgeting--lump-sum allocations to individual schools; (ii) administrative decentralization--increasing the discretionary authority of the school principal; (iii) accountability--using statewide criterion-referenced testing and making public those test results via "Annual Performance Reports"; and (iv) democratized decisionmaking--implementing a collaborative and participatory mechanism for planning, policymaking, and program evaluation at the school site. Since it involves great changes in administrative practice, few LEA's in Florida have moved towards SBM. The data on this topic was beyond the scope of our project. For more information on this concept, and on SBM in Florida, see: L. Pierce, et al., 1975:101; and Cunningham, et al., 1978:18-82.

maximum discretion as to the format of the Annual School Report but does specify its content. The Report is to update, annually, the status of education in each school during the prior year, and is to contain:

- information on how well the school has met its goals and objectives;
- interpretation and analysis of student progress including achievement scores as recorded in the statewide testing program;
- information on school's budget;
- identification of school and student needs;
- information about the attitudes towards the school of teachers, students, parents and the community; and
- any other information and analysis which can clarify the status of education at that school.

Copies of the Report are sent home to all parents and guardians of children at the schools and are otherwise publicly available upon request.

Florida's finance reform plan and its mandate for Councils stems from the recommendations of a 1972 Governor's Citizens' Study Committee. The Final Report of that Committee, first, suggested measures to increase local accountability (Improving Education in Florida, 1973:11):

> The individual school should be the basic unit of educational accountability in Florida. To achieve this accountability there should be an Annual Report of School Progress which details the improvements made in education at the school during the year--and which identifies the areas in need of further improvement. Serving as a basic performance audit instrument, hopefully, the Annual Report will become a powerful tool for achieving school level improvements and innovations. It will be a "report card" of the school to the parents written in a plain, simple, brief style.

Second, it recognized that accountability must be accompanied by citizen involvement (p. 11) and recommended that:

> Each school establish a School Advisory Council composed of parents, administrators, teachers, and, where practicable, students to help guide policy at each school. This group would then be responsible for producing an Annual Report of School Progress which would detail the accomplishments and the areas in need of improvement for that school. The council would also disseminate its report to school organizations such as the PTA.

Such a Council would serve on a continuing basis. It would be advisory to the principal and:

> ...should work with him on the development of budget, program and personnel policy...to improve the quality of education..., and assist the principal in preparation of the Annual Report of School Progress.

Florida's current mandate for Councils reflects both major components--Annual School Reports and Advisory Council participation in the preparation of such Reports. That current mandate has undergone two amendments since 1973. The 1973 legislation reads (to help in comparing subsequent amendments the excerpted passages quoted below are annotated):

Instructions to LEA's	The school board shall establish a school advisory committee or committees but such school advisory committees shall not have any powers now reserved by law to the school board. (Emphasis not in original.)

Author's Note: This means that LEA's have discretion and need only establish a districtwide committee instead of committees at each school (Florida, 1974:2).

Membership	The School Board shall develop a plan for establishing each school advisory committee, which shall include parents and students and be broadly representative of the community served by the school.
Evaluation by LEA's	Each board shall make an annual evaluation of the effectiveness of each committee established and shall submit its plan and a report to the State Department of Education.
Evaluation by SEA	The department shall review the reports of annual evaluation to provide to the State Board of Education and legislature an annual appraisal as to the effectiveness of school advisory committees and other information deemed by the department to be appropriate.

1976 amendments (pursuant to the 1976 Education Accountability Act) eliminated the provision for evaluation by LEA's and made more specific the language covering local discretion (i.e., "instructions to LEA's"), membership, and functions. These changes are summarized in the annotated excerpts below:

Instructions to LEA's	If the school board does not establish advisory committees for each school, it shall establish a district advisory committee... (Emphasis not in original.)

The district school board may establish, in addition to the committees authorized at each school, a district advisory committee which may be comprised of representatives from each school committee or such other members as the district school board shall prescribe... (Emphasis not in original.)

Membership — The district school board may establish an advisory committee broadly representative of the community served...and composed of teachers, students, parents, and other citizens. (Emphasis not in original.)

Functions — Each school advisory committee...shall assist in the preparation of the annual report...and shall provide such assistance as the principal may request in preparing the school's annual budget and plan... (Emphasis not in original.)

1978 legislation retained all the changes cited above and added a further provision for local discretion and provided for financial support for Advisory Committee improvement.

Instructions to LEA's: Waiver Provision — Recognized schoolwide support groups which meet all criteria established by law or rule may function as district and school advisory committees.

Financial Support — Pursuant to rules adopted by the State Board of Education, each district school board, or each principal through the district school board may submit to the Commissioner for approval a proposal for implementing an educational improvement project. Such proposals shall be developed with the assistance of district and school advisory committees and may address any or all of the following areas: school management improvement, district and school advisory committee improvement, school volunteers, and any other educational areas which can be improved through a closer working relationship between school and community.... for each project approved, the Commissioner shall authorize distribution of a grant, in amount not less than $500 and not more than $5,000... (Emphasis not in original.)

The latter provision for Education Improvement Grants is the focus of further discussion of Florida's policy in Section Five, below. The evolution of Florida's mandate is summarized in Table 2A, on the next page. The present discussion concludes, however, with a full quote

TABLE 2A

EVOLUTION OF FLORIDA'S MANDATE FOR COUNCILS

	1973 LEGISLATION	1976 PROVISIONS	1978 PROVISIONS
Instructions to LEA's	...school board shall establish a school advisory committee or committees.	If the school board does not establish advisory committees at each school it shall establish a district advisory committee.	Same
		The district school board may establish, in addition to the committees at each school, a district advisory committee which may be comprised of representatives from each school or such other members as the district school board may prescribe.	Same
Waiver Provision	None	None	Recognized schoolwide support groups which meet all criteria established by rule or law may function as district and school advisory committees.
Membership	...shall include parents and students and be broadly representative of the community served by the school.	...composed of teachers, students, parents and other citizens.	Same.
Functions	Participate in preparation of Annual Reports of School Progress.	...shall assist in the preparation of the Annual Report...and provide assistance as the principal may request in preparing the school's annual budget and plan.	Same

TABLE 2A

EVOLUTION OF FLORIDA'S MANDATE FOR COUNCILS (Cont'd.)

	1973 LEGISLATION	1976 PROVISIONS	1978 PROVISIONS
Evaluation by LEA's	Each board shall make an annual evaluation of the effectiveness of each committee established and shall submit its plan and a report of the annual evaluation to the State Department of Education.	None	None
Evaluation by SEA	The department shall review the reports of annual evaluations to provide to the State Board of Education and legislature an annual appraisal as to the effectiveness of school advisory committees.	None	None
Financial Support For Council Maintenance	None	None	Pursuant to rules adopted by the State Board of Education, each district school board or each principal through the district school board may submit to the commissioner for approval a proposal for implementing an educational improvement project. Such proposals shall be developed with the assistance of district and school advisory committees and may address any or all of the following areas: ...district and school advisory committee improvement....

of Florida's extant (i.e., as amended in 1978 legislation) mandate for Councils.

229.58 District and School Advisory Committees:

(1) ESTABLISHMENT. -- The district school board may establish an advisory committee broadly representative of the community served by the school for each school in the district and composed of teachers, students, parents, and other citizens. If the school board does not establish advisory committees for each school, it shall establish a district advisory committee broadly representative of the district and composed of teachers, students, parents and other citizens. The district school board may establish, in addition to the committee authorized at each school, a district advisory committee which may be comprised of representatives of each school committee or such other members as the district board shall prescribe. Recognized schoolwide support groups which meet all criteria established by law or rule may function as district and school advisory committees.

(2) DUTIES. -- Each advisory committee shall perform such functions as are prescribed by regulations of the district school board; however, no advisory committee shall have any of the powers and duties now reserved by law to the district school board. Each school advisory committee, however, shall assist in the preparation of the annual report required by s. 229.575 and shall provide such assistance as the principal may request in preparing the school's annual budget and plan as required by s. 229.555(1).

2.4 SOUTH CAROLINA: SECTION 6(3)b OF THE EDUCATION FINANCE ACT OF 1977

South Carolina's mandate for Councils is written into Section 6(3)b of that State's Education Finance Act passed in July 1977. Like California's AB 65 and Florida's 1973 FEFP, the Act is a major reform of school finance serving to promote equity. As amended in 1980, the Education Finance Act (hereafter the EFA) ensures that each student in the State has access to a minimum foundation program which includes the funding level necessary for supporting a "Defined Minimum Program" (set by State standards) and meeting, as funds are available, needs

identified by individual school sites. Fiscal equity is enhanced by basing the LEA's minimum fiscal effort for providing the foundation program on each school district's "ability to pay," that is, the total assessed tax wealth in that district as a proportion of the wealth of the State as a whole. This "ability to pay" ratio determines, in each case, the State and local shares of paying for schooling. In this way, the State pays more of the costs of poorer districts, while wealthier districts assume more of the financial responsibility for their local schools. As in the other two States, additional State aid is targeted at pupils with special needs. This is accomplished, as it is in Florida, through a system of "pupil weightings." For example, the financing scheme recognizes that the cost of educating a handicapped child may be double that of meeting the DMP of a non-handicapped child. Finally, as is the case in the other two States, an increased role of the State and, hence, an inevitable increase in State exercise of authority in local schooling is counter-balanced by a mandate to increase citizen involvement in local school decisionmaking.

In South Carolina, however, the mandate for Councils is part of the accountability section of the finance reform legislation. In order to insure that all State funds appropriated for each weighted category of students are, in fact, spent in the appropriate category each school building must write a Report that explains the programs being offered at the school, identifies areas of strengths and weaknesses, and strategies for program improvement. This Annual School Report is then sent to the district level, where the school board is directed by law to "prepare a written appraisal of the report of each school with emphasis on needs, goals, objectives and plans for the utilization of resources." The school district must then prepare a programmatic report which includes "...a comprehensive annual and long range plan" for meeting these district needs. This plan and district-level report is submitted to the State Department of Education. The Department is enjoined to review each district report and "...on the basis of this review... provide information in a published report, to the local school board of trustees, the Superintendent and other administrative personnel of the district, for improvement in the program and in correcting the

deficiencies discovered."

South Carolina's mandate for Councils is as follows (once again, specific provisions are excerpted and annotated; the full text is contained in The South Carolina Education Finance Act of 1977, Section 6(3)b , lines 12-28, as printed January 1980):

Instructions to LEA's	Each school board shall establish an Advisory Council at each school in the district.... (Emphasis not in original.)
Membership Selection and Composition	...composed of at least two parents, elected by parents of the children enrolled in the school; at least two teachers, elected by the faculty; at least two students in schools with grades 9 and above elected by the students;...
Principals' Discretion	...other representatives of the community... and persons selected by the principal; provided however, that the elected members of the committee shall comprise at least a two thirds majority of the membership of the committee. (Emphasis in original.)
Functions	Each council shall assist in the preparation of the annual school report required in this section...[the legislation on annual school reports reads] ...Each school district board of trustees shall cause each school in the district to prepare an annual written report including but not limited to (a) depicting the program being offered in each pupil classification, and (b) recommending program improvements... This report shall present an explicit statement of the needs of students; shall define specific goals and objectives; and propose an identifiable strategy for priorities in the expenditure of funds to achieve the stated objectives. ...[councils] shall provide assistance as the principal may request as well as [carry out] any other duties prescribed by the local school board.... However, no council shall have any of the powers reserved by law or regulation to the local school board. (Emphasis not in original.)
Special Authority	The local school board shall make provisions to allow any council to file a separate report to the local school board if the council deems it necessary. (Emphasis not in original.)

2.5 SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW OF THE THREE STATE MANDATES

Sections Four through Six specify in greater detail selected aspects of these three State policies for Advisory Councils. For now, however, several features must be noted which distinguish these policies from other State and Federal initiatives and from each other.

2.5.1 Scope of the Mandate

In all three States, policies do not merely encourage and support citizen involvement; instead, like Federal requirements for "client representation," they are mandatory. Unlike Federal requirements, however, the definition of "client" is more expansive. In both Florida and South Carolina, Councils are comprehensive and are not tied to a specific, categorical, funded program. In California, the mandate is broader than most categorical programs, yet it is not as comprehensive as the mandates in the other two States. A School Site Council in California is mandatory for every school which chooses to participate in the School Improvement Program. Such participation is discretionary and is contingent on local initiatives in submitting a proposal for School Improvement Grants. Of the three States, South Carolina's mandate is the most encompassing. California's mandate only applies to a school that chooses to participate in SIP. Florida's mandate leaves it up to LEA's discretion as to whether to form a new Council or designate an "existing school-wide support group," e.g., a PTA, as a Council, or whether to have building or district level Councils. South Carolina's 1977 legislation specifies that there be a Council at each school building.

2.5.2 Councils' Structure: Membership Composition and Selection

Florida's mandate provides few guidelines for membership composition and selection other than the injunction that Councils "be representative of the school-community." California's mandate enjoins that Councils be "broadly reflective of the socio-economic composition of the school attendance area" and be representative of different school constituencies: administrators, teachers, staff, students, and "community members." Even more specifically, California requires "parity"

by having equal numbers of paid school personnel members and parents/citizens on the Council. Otherwise, each Council determines its own membership selection procedures. South Carolina's mandate, however, is quite specific. It requires that a two-thirds majority of the Council be elected rather than appointed and, furthermore, that membership be filled by peer group election on the part of teachers, "parents of children in that school," and, at the secondary level, students.

2.5.3 Functions: Responsibilities and Authority

In all three States, Councils are charged with varying degrees of involvement in school program planning, evaluation, and accountability. In Florida and South Carolina, these responsibilities take the form of assistance in preparation of Annual School Reports. In California, however, the School Site Council has a key role in designing, implemting and evaluating local School Improvement Plans. This role goes beyond an advisory function. In South Carolina and Florida, Councils are,"consistent with the powers and duties reserved to local school boards," involved in all aspects of the school program but in an advisory capacity only. But, in South Carolina, the legislation invests Councils not only with the responsibility to "assist principals in the preparation of the required Annual School Report" but also with the right to file a separate Report.

An overview of the three legislative mandates for Councils is presented in Table 2B on the succeeding page. In Sections Four, Five and Six, below, this Report continues its discussion of policies in the three States of California, Florida and South Carolina, respectively. The focus, however, shifts from legislation to implementation, from policies to practices. The significance of those practices, however, is best appreciated within the context of the nationwide experience with the implementation, as opposed to promulgation, of mandates for School Councils. A summary and analysis of the research and evaluation data documenting that nationwide experience is presented in Section Three, immediately following.

TABLE 2B

SUMMARY OVERVIEW OF THE 3 STATE MANDATES

	CALIFORNIA	FLORIDA	SOUTH CAROLINA
Instructions to LEA's	A school site council shall be established at each school which participates in the school improvement program authorized in this chapter.	If the school board does not establish advisory committees at each school it shall establish a district advisory committee ...the district school board may, in addition to the committees at each school, establish a district advisory committee.	Each school board shall establish an advisory council at each school in the district.
Local Options	Existing schoolwide advisory groups or school district support groups may be utilized as the school site council if such groups conform to the provisions of this section.	Recognized schoolwide support groups which meet all criteria established by rule or by law may function as district and school advisory committees.	None
Membership Selection and Composition	The council shall be composed of the principal and representatives of teachers selected by teachers at the school; parents of pupils attending that school selected by such parents, and in secondary schools pupils selected by pupils attending the school.	[Councils shall be]... broadly representative of the school and community [and be] composed of teachers, students and parents, and other citizens. [The district committees established in addition to school committees]...may be comprised of representatives of each school or such other members as the district school board may prescribe.	[Councils shall be comprised] ...of at least two parents elected by parents of the children enrolled in the school; at least two teachers, elected by the faculty; at least two students in schools with grade 9 and above, elected by the students....

TABLE 2B (Continued)

	CALIFORNIA	FLORIDA	SOUTH CAROLINA
Membership Selection and Composition (continued)	At the elementary level the council shall be constituted to ensure parity between: (a) the principal, classroom teachers and other school personnel; and (b) parents and other community members selected by parents.... At the secondary level the council shall be constituted to ensure parity between (a) the principal, classroom teachers and other school personnel; and (b) equal number of parents and students.		...other representatives of the community and persons selected by the principal; provided, however, that the elected members of the committee shall comprise at least a two-thirds majority of the membership of the committee.
Functions	[Develop a three-year school improvement plan which] shall be based on an assessment of school capability to meet the educational needs of each pupil, specify improvement objectives and indicate steps necessary to achieve such objectives, including intended outcomes. The school site council, following approval of the School Improvement Plan by the governing board, shall have ongoing responsibility to review with the principal, teachers, and other personnel and pupils the implementation of the School Improvement Program and assess periodically the effectiveness of such programs.	Each school advisory committee shall assist in the preparation of the Annual School Report and shall provide such assistance as the principal may request in preparing the school's annual budget and plan.	Each school district board of trustees shall cause each school...to prepare an annual report ... Each council shall assist in the preparation of annual school report [which shall include]...an explicit statement of the needs of students...specific goals and objectives [and] an identifiable strategy for priorities in the expenditure of funds to achieve stated objectives.

TABLE 2B (Continued)

	CALIFORNIA	FLORIDA	SOUTH CAROLINA
Special Authority	No [school improvement] plan shall be approved unless it was developed and recommended by a school site council. In the event any plan is not approved by the [local] board, specific reasons for such action shall be communicated to the council. Modifications to any School Improvement Plan shall be developed, recommended, and approved or disapproved in the same manner.	...each district school board or each principal through the district school board may submit to the commissioner for approval a proposal for implementing an educational improvement project. Such proposals shall be developed with the assistance of district and school advisory committees.	The local school board shall make provisions to allow any council to file a separate report [i.e., of the Annual School Reports] to the school board if the council deems it necessary.
Financial Support For Council Maintenance	Each School Improvement Program shall include a staff development program...Local staff development shall: [provide for] ...the capacity of school site councils to monitor and evaluate programs authorized by this chapter... Development activities for members of the school site council shall be designed in conjunction with such [Council] members.	Pursuant to rules adopted by the State Board of Education each district school board or each principal through the district school board may submit to the commissioner for approval a proposal for implementing an educational improvement project. Such proposals shall be developed with the assistance of district and school advisory committees and may address any or all of the following areas: ...district and school advisory committee improvement.	None.

SECTION THREE. THE NATIONAL EXPERIENCE WITH ADVISORY COUNCILS: A REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

While different mandates create Councils with different kinds of expectations, roles and responsibilities on the part of the Council members, it remains the case that a "Council" is a generic mechanism of public involvement in school decisionmaking. Hence, a summary of the research and evaluation literature on mandated Advisory Councils around the nation can be instructive. This Section: (i) examines the record of mandated Advisory Councils around the nation; (ii) suggests an explanatory model which interprets that record without falling into the self-defeating stance of scapegoating or blaming the victim; and (iii) identifies "what works" in the area of Advisory Councils.

3.1 THE RECORD: MANDATES ARE NOT SELF-EXECUTING

The record is sobering for those who either expect quick results or else assume that merely mandating increased "client" or "popular" involvement will either broaden the base of decisionmaking or increase public support for schools.

For example: Studies of school district mandated Councils in Los Angeles show varying levels of activity and, in some cases, total inactivity, thus suggesting that there is a limit to what can be legislated and regulated into being (Cwik, et al., 1975). Florida was the first to have a comprehensive, i.e., general purpose and not discretionary and categorical, mandate for Councils. Yet, a 1978 evaluation (Cunningham, et al., 1978) found that only 10 percent of that State's Councils were "fully operational", that is, they operated in accordance with the intent of the legislative mandate. There have been similar low levels of activity reported for Title I Parent Advisory Committees in both national (Kaplan and Forgione, 1978) and local studies (Boone, 1978). Far from providing access to decisionmaking, Advisory Councils tend to "buffer" schools from community involvement (Gittell, et al., 1979; Boyd and O'Shea, 1975). In comparison with Councils, voluntary associations continue to provide the best avenue for citizens who

desire to influence school policies (Gittell, et al., 1979). One local study (Jacksonville, 1979) found that voluntary organizations are, in fact, performing those functions which were supposed to have been performed by state-mandated Advisory Councils in that particular community. Participation on Councils does not ipso facto lead to increased public support for schools. What matters is parents' perceptions of the quality of their participation on Councils. Involvement on ineffectual Councils led to increased alienation from schools on the part of such Councils (Mann, 1974). Similar findings showing that higher levels of citizen participation may not, in the short run, lead to increased public support for policymakers are reported in Gittell, et al. (1979) and in Yin, et al. (1973).

3.2 INTERPRETING THE RECORD: A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE

The evidence seems negative. However, the data should be seen as suggestive rather than compelling and conclusive.

3.2.1 Some Caveats: Inconsistent Definitions of Councils' Effectiveness

One inescapable problem in attempting a summary of the existing evidence on Councils' effectiveness, and drawing policy implications from such evidence, is that there is a tendency to aggregate and compare "apples" and "oranges." The term "effectiveness," when applied to Councils, is systematically ambiguous, and in the absence of a common research protocol on Councils, that term has no fixed meaning. For example, some studies have sought to gauge the effect of Councils on such factors as test scores (Stearns, et al., 1973), schools' organizational climate (Deal, 1977), and/or impact on the community and on the participants of the Councils themselves (Yin, et al., 1973). Some studies have operationally defined Council effectiveness as levels of activity necessary to fulfill the intent of a particular mandate (Stanton, Zerchykov, et al., 1979). Other studies operate with a more expansive notion of the mandate which is revealed not only in regulatory language but also in legislative intent, and, hence, define effectiveness as the degree of Councils' sharing in

school decisionmaking (Cunningham, et al., 1978). Still other studies assess Councils' effectiveness in terms of their influence on school policy and their ability to mobilize community participation (Gittell, et al., 1979).

These different definitions of effectiveness emanate from many different sources. Advocates of citizen participation tend to see Councils as surrogates or functional equivalents of organized citizen interest groups thereby ignoring the inherent difference between a voluntary "interest group" and a mandated advisory mechanism. A second major source of the differing definitions of effectiveness stems from the nature of the research and evaluation studies on Councils. Typically, such research is tailored to reflect the administrative decisionmaking requirements of the mandating authorities. The result is that the dependent variables, i.e., criteria of effectiveness, are not taken from any grounded theory of Councils qua a generic form of organization but, instead, represent attempts to operationalize the intent behind the mandate. Surveys of legislative and regulatory language by the Institute for Responsive Education (Davies, et al., 1979; Huguenin, Zerchykov and Davies, 1979) and others (Stearns, et al., 1973) found that mandates for citizen participation are assumed to:

> ...benefit children, devolve power, improve program effectiveness, reduce alienation, make services more responsive, ...train citizen leaders [and] counteract excessive Federal and State domination (Huguenin, Zerchykov and Davies, 1979:32).

Such a variety of assumptions leads to a multiplicity of inconsistent, and often unmeasurable and unrealistic, criteria for effectiveness. These criteria create an all but impossible set of standards for Councils' effectiveness. When evaluations are based on ambitious criteria such as those cited above, few Councils can be determined as being effective.

3.2.2 Implications for Policymakers

First, as suggested above, the data about Councils' effectiveness needs to be re-examined before rendering any firm verdict on Councils in general.

Second, the inconclusive nature of the data stems, in part, from inconsistencies in definitions, many of which are ideological, of "Council effectiveness." Some of this inconsistency is also a mirror image of the generality and, sometimes, ambiguity of mandates for Councils. The paradox is that the same language, often written into preambles to legislative mandates, which is so useful in building the political consensus for Councils, can also heighten unrealistic expectations and create impossible standards of accomplishment, thereby sowing the seeds of premature disillusionment with the whole concept of mandating Councils.

Finally, the evidence that many Councils fail to have influence on local school policymaking and that professional educators, whom Councils advise, act in a manner that contains that influence, does not necessarily mean that: (a) lay-council members are inherently incapable of exercising influence (i.e., blaming the victim), or (b) that educators are ineluctably opposed to citizen participation (i.e., scapegoating). An alternative explanation has to account for the organizational nature of schools and the attendant strains introduced into schools by mandates for Councils.

3.3 RE-INTERPRETING THE EVIDENCE: AN ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATION FOR IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS

The problem is not with people, that is, with parents who are unable (or unwilling, or uninterested) to participate. Nor is it due simply to educators' reluctance to share decisions. A systemic perspective which recognizes schools as complex, formal organizations can pinpoint some of the root causes of difficulties with Councils.

3.3.1 A Systems Model of Schools as Complex Formal Organizations

Schools exhibit certain characteristics simply by virtue of being organizations. These characteristics include the existence of standard operating procedures, organizational interests, and shared values among members (Peterson, 1976). They also include organizational traditions and patterns of relationships (Sarason, 1971). As organizations, schools can also be viewed as a community

of interests, i.e., of interested groups: parents, non-parent taxpayers, school boards, administrators, teachers, and non-classroom and non-instructional staff. These groups have varying degrees of institutionalized access to local school decisionmaking. Any attempt to increase the institutionalized access to decisionmaking on the part of one or more of those interest groups requires alterations in existing patterns--i.e., standard operating procedures, organizational interests, and shared values--which constitute the school as an organization.

The nature of those existing patterns and the effect on them of introducing new mandates for citizen participation are apparent if schools are considered as being social systems. Like all complex formal organizations, schools are constituted by five interrelated sub-systems: (i) their relationship to the environment; (ii) their formal structure; (iii) their goals; (iv) their technology or means for implementing goals; and (v) their informal norms (Udy, 1965; Bidwell, 1965; Huguenin, Zerchykov and Davies, 1979). The application of this simplified systems model is useful on two levels. First, it highlights the fact that these five organizational sub-systems are interrelated and suggests the need to consider the "hernia effect" of organizational change: if one sub-system is altered, the effects will be felt in another (Deal and Rosaler, 1976). Second, it highlights the unique features of schools as organizations, especially ways in which schools deviate from the ideal-type bureaucratic model and the effects of this deviance on mandated innovations, generally (Deal, 1979), and specifically on mandates for citizen participation (Zerchykov, 1980).

An examination of schools through the perspective of the five sub-systems identified above specifically shows how schools are different from other organizations and what these differences mean for the implementation of Advisory Councils.

(i) Environment: Like all public organizations, schools are uniquely sensitive to their environment. The environment represents a source of support, e.g., monies generated locally or from Federal and State sources; and it represents a source of demands, e.g., local

community values, State and Federal requirements including reporting and evaluation requirements, and shifting national priorities in education. The environment is also a source of organizational interests. People inhabiting schools, teachers for example, come into the school with their own set of expectations and values inherent in their membership in the teaching profession. From the standpoint of a school's environment, a Council can be a source of support or it can be a complicating factor since it can represent an additional interest group and source of demands. Schools, like all social systems (and indeed all people), seek to control or contain their environments. In any context, there are an infinite number of needs to be addressed and demands to be reconciled: only a portion of these can be processed by any organization or individual at any particular time or instance.

(ii) Formal Structure. An organization's formal structure--its division of labor, lines of authority, and structures of decision-making--is one way in which it draws boundaries and screens out different environmental pressures into discrete, manageable tasks which that organization can then process through its "standard operating procedures." A bureaucratic model, which organizes labor in such a manner that it can process externally determined goals into routine actions with predictable outcomes, is a classic environment-containment device. The essence of bureaucracy is hierarchy and accountability. And, as decisionmaking structures, schools do exhibit certain bureaucratic features which create difficulties for Advisory Councils. The principle of accountability, which requires vertical hierarchical chains of authority, conflicts with participation which requires horizontal sharing of decisionmaking with groups such as Advisory Councils which have no formal place in the schools' presently structured chain of command. There can be little sharing of decisionmaking authority if there is no sharing of accountability. Principals and administrators are accountable to their superiors. There is no similar pattern of accountability for Councils. This role strain on administrators results in their inability to share formal accountability, which in turn can lead to an unwillingness to share decisionmaking.

This unwillingness is also due, paradoxically, to the unbureaucratic features of schools which result in a low premium on risk-taking and a high degree of institutional inertia and resistance to change. This inertia is reinforced by norms which sanction professional domination of educational decisionmaking. The effect of these additional factors becomes apparent by viewing the other sub-systems which classify schools as complex, formal organizations.

(iii) Goals: A bureaucracy depends on the ability to maintain a predictable relationship between ends and means, between clearly stated goals, routine and manageable practices, and predictable outcomes. Like all public institutions, schools have externally determined goals. Moreover, these goals are general, multi-dimensional and diffuse. This can be contrasted to the private business firm (Cyert and March, 1965), whose goal of maximizing profit is specific, one-dimensional and quantifiable. Also, in contrast to other public institutions, such as the Postal Service, schools are subject to changing and ambiguous goals. And, due to their sensitivity to the environment, schools are extremely sensitive to shifts in public opinion (Bidwell, 1965). For example, between 1945 and 1980, the pendulum of public opinion has swung twice from progressive education to basic education, back to progressive and then, again, back to basic. Public opinion about adequate mail delivery has not gone through such similar swings. Mandated policies to increase citizen participation impose new sets of goals on schools. These new goals are added to the old ones which are already difficult to assess.

(iv) Technology: Means of Implementation. Numerous, shifting, and competing goals serve to weaken schools' chains of command and thus increase institutional resistance to innovations such as Councils by penalizing the risk-taking required on the part of school administrators to incorporate such innovations in organizational decision-making. Without clear goals, it is difficult to specify clear means or techniques. This makes it difficult to specify and enforce performance standards. Given the state of the art in teaching (Rutter, et al., 1979), and the ambiguity of public expectations about good teaching, there are few objective measures of teacher performance

(Dreeben, 1970). And, when evaluation of employee performance is regarded as subjective, administrative authority diminishes.

(v) Informal Norms. A synonym for informal norms is "folkways," those spontaneous, unplanned but important patterns of thinking and and acting which determine what it is like to work in a particular organization. These norms can, of course, vary from school to school. But, there is one common set of norms derived from the fact that the key inhabitants of schools--teachers--share a common profession with its own values, standards, and modes of peer-group reinforcement. Professionalism serves to further weaken administrative authority and thus contribute to the existence of the predominantly unbureaucratic nature of schools. When educators take jobs in organizations, they continue to subscribe to the values of their profession, one of which is academic freedom. This translates into lack of interference in the classroom. Another value is collegiality. Until fairly recently school administrators were not distinguished by specialized skills or training, but by longevity of service in teaching. Their status was that of "first among equals." Paradoxically, the growth of a specialized layer of credentialled administrators and the divorce of the administration from longevity in classroom teaching has not strengthened the hand of administrators. Professionals defer only to those who exhibit excellence in the skills which define their profession, for example, artists defer to artists they acknowledge as having greater expertise and not to "artisans."

This preference for peer-group accountability and review can make educators resistant to lay-dominated advisory groups whose formal position within the school's hierarchy is nebulous. Any participation mandate, then, runs into conflict with norms dictating that professionals should be in charge. A study of the Parent Advisory Council mandate attached to California's Early Childhood Education (ECE) program (a precursor of California's School Improvement Program discussed elsewhere in this Report) found that: "The reassertion of lay control into routines and values of school staff would require change in these roles and traditions." (Heck, 1977:233.)

3.3.2 Policy Implications for Mandating Advisory Councils

First, the systems model above has served to identify organizational factors which can explain, without blaming people or abandoning the whole concept of Councils, the documented difficulties with such mandates around the nation.

Second, in terms of schools' relationship to their environment, it becomes clear that: (i) Councils are an additional complicating factor in an already complex environment, and (ii) that, when Councils are not separately funded, they represent hidden costs and resource drains--time, and overtime, reporting requirements, etc.--on schools.

Third, in terms of schools' formal structures--the one bureaucratic characteristic of schools--Councils are poorly integrated into schools' lines of authority and accountability. This makes it difficult, though not impossible, for Councils to share in decisionmaking or even to give advice to those who can act on it. Sharing of decisions between Councils and the administrators they advise is possible but not without some risk-taking on the part of administrators.

Fourth, the decidedly unbureaucratic feature of schools revealed in the unique characteristics which constitute schools' "goals", "technology" and "informal norms" sub-systems, represents additional barriers to Councils' institutionalized access to decisionmaking. Schools, like all organizations, have both authority and power structures. Schools' power structures are amorphous. Nobody really "owns" schools: there is no final authority. Ultimately, the public owns schools, but public ownership is at best symbolic, mediated as it is through school boards. In tough cases, principals pass the buck to "the district office", superintendents say, "that's really a board decision;" and boards defer to a diffuse public opinion. At the same time, however, boards are apt to rubber stamp superintendents' proposals, and within this framework principals and teachers enjoy a fair degree of autonomy. Multiple goals are set not only by the community but also by different organizational levels within schools. Three factors, it was seen--lack of clear goals, lack of clear and enforceable routines for accomplishing those goals, and professional values which resist hierarchical control

--weaken a school system's chain of command. This results in a fair amount of autonomy for different role-groups within the schools. Ordinarily, autonomy would lead to flexibility: people who are free to act could be expected to agree more readily to change. But, autonomy for school staff co-exists with vulnerability to environmental pressures. In fact, the conflicting nature of these pressures, the shifting and diffuse goals, makes autonomy possible in the first place. What autonomy means for many educators is freedom to fail in a game with poorly defined goals and shifting rules. The result is not freedom, but an "organized system of insecurity." (Zerchykov, 1980.) The result, given the absence of other incentives (Stanton, Zerchykov, et al., 1979), is that there is little room for the risk-taking and assumption of hidden costs--administrative overtime, reporting requirements--inevitably involved in efforts to increase Councils' access to decisionmaking.

Finally, as suggested in the section immediately below, a systems framework also allows for an interpretation of what works, why, and how can it be generalized by policymakers.

3.4 WHAT WORKS: COMMON DENOMINATORS OF COUNCILS' EFFECTIVENESS

"What works" in this context refers not to practices or blueprints for action but rather to conditions associated with Councils' effectiveness as revealed in a previous Institute for Responsive Education analysis of the research and evaluation literature on Councils (Huguenin, Zerchykov and Davies, 1979). That study analyzed over 25 case studies, surveys and evaluations of Councils, including previous field studies conducted by the Institute in the three States whose policies are the focus of this Report (Cunningham, et al., 1978; Stanton and Zerchykov, 1979), and a national, 3-city comparative study of both Councils and voluntary groups (Gittell, et al., 1979).

The purpose of the study was to identify what factors were associated with Councils' effectiveness. Effectiveness was defined broadly as the degree of "impact on school decisionmaking" (Huguenin, Zerchykov and Davies, 1979:12). Impact refers to access rather than results,

that is, the more people involved in more issues, the greater the level of impact and, hence, the greater the degree of effectiveness. Such a broad definition was used advisedly. It allowed for aggregation of heterogeneous findings. It was neutral anough to avoid the methodological and ideological thicket of different qualitative measures of effectiveness as described earlier in this chapter. And, finally, the definition was consistent with all extant mandates for citizen participation in education.

In method, that survey adapted the comparative-case mode of analysis pioneered by Yin, et al. (1973). In doing so, it isolated cases of effective Councils and then sought to determine what was different about those cases. Such a secondary analysis identified three factors, or "common denominators," which are associated with higher levels of effectiveness on the part of community organizations. These common denominators are:

- The efficacy of evlauation as a compliance and organizational behavior-modification strategy (Goettell, Kaplan and Orland, 1977; Joyce, 1978).
- Organizational access to resources, especially the discretionary control of resources (Yin, et al., 1973) and access to local, indigenous resources (McDonnell and Zellman, 1978).
- Clarity of goals (Heck, 1977).

3.4.1 Evaluation as a Compliance Strategy: Program Reviews in California

The evidence suggests that for good or ill, evaluations--the criteria and method of conducting evaluations--influence the behavior of those evaluated. This suggests that regular and ongoing evaluations can serve as a compliance and implementation strategy by SEA's. In short, "you get what you evaluate." The effect of evaluations can be predicted by the systems model of schools presented above. Evaluations and reporting requirements represent environmental demands, and, since the same agencies which sponsor evaluations also control additional monies for schools, positive evaluations are sources of support. And, schools are uniquely sensitive to the environment. This conclusion is an inference from evidence that is generally negative. It was found, for example, that regular ongoing monitoring and auditing

procedures (as in Title I ESEA), by focusing on "what can be counted rather than on what counts," deflect local program energies away from the substance of the program and towards meeting quantifiable reporting requirements (Huguenin, Zerchykov and Davies, 1979; Davies, et al., 1979; Huguenin, 1978; Joyce, 1978). Substantive evaluations, whether summative or formative, on the other hand, tend to be contracted out and they tend to be one-shot affairs whose impact on both policy and schools' organizational behavior is consequently minimal. California, however, has developed a substantive, non-punitive, and ongoing evaluation model whose strategy, discussed in Section Four below, can be replicated elsewhere.

3.4.2 Resources: Educational Improvement Project Grants in Florida

The fact that resources--money, materials, labor, time--are associated with Councils' organizational effectiveness comes as no surprise. The necessity for resources is obvious. The significance, however, is that having money, material and staff of their own can be a galvanizing force for Councils (Stanton, Zerchykov, et al., 1979). Unlike formal sub-units of the school system, e.g., administrative cabinets or faculty councils, and unlike voluntary organizations like PTA's or other interest groups, Advisory Councils are artificial groups, with no natural identity and rapid turnovers of membership. Discretion over resources provides a focus for organizational activity. Moreover, discretion over resources can promote closer cooperation between Councils and other community organizations. Councils have something to offer in exchange. Finally, as predicted in the systems model of schools, providing resources for Councils makes them less burdensome to schools. Such resources can pay for the hidden costs of implementing a mandated Council. Florida's program of Educational Improvement Project Grants, discussed in Section Five, below, is one example of a State policy providing resources for Councils.

3.4.3 Clarity of Goals: Emerging Consensus on Councils' Functions in South Carolina

Clear goals are also another obvious *sine qua non* for any group's effectiveness. For Councils, however, the situation is not that simple.

Their goals cannot be internally generated. Councils exist in an organizational twilight zone. They are quasi-public bodies but with no clear public authority. They are and they are not a part of the school's formal structure. They, of course, have some mandated goals and some areas of discretion. In concrete terms, a Council's goals emerge out of a consensus on Councils' functions as it is negotiated between Councils and those whom they advise, typically principals. The significance of such a consensus on functions is that it represents a de facto integration of a Council into the school's system of authority and accountability. Section Six discusses processes of consensus-building in South Carolina and presents poll, survey and interview data showing an emerging consensus on Councils' functions among Council members, and principals in that State.

SECTION FOUR. EVALUATION AS A COMPLIANCE STRATEGY: PROGRAM REVIEWS IN CALIFORNIA

Certain kinds of policies are easier to enforce than others. Mandates for citizen participation are particularly difficult to enforce. Legislative intent can only be realized through cooperation at the local level. Explicit and detailed compliance procedures can win the battle but lose the war; enforcement may guarantee compliance with the letter of the policy but may also destroy the good will necessary to realize its intent. As noted in Section 3.4.1, there is evidence that evaluation is a subtle but little used or understood tool of policy implementation. The process and content of evaluation may be more effective in influencing behavior than regulations and directives; in effect, "you get what you evaluate."

This Section describes and summarizes the results of California's system of evaluating the implementation of State-funded School Improvement Programs.*

4.1 INTRODUCTION: A HISTORY OF PARENT INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

The State of California is alone among the three States, and is perhaps unique among all mandating authorities, in having a regular and systematic mode of evaluating all aspects of that State's School Improvement Programs, including the mandated School Site Councils.

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* The data gathering, analysis and statistical breakdown for this Section were performed by Ms. Janet Chrispeels. Ms. Chrispeels, a member of IPEN (Information Project on Educational Negotiations), the Project's site organization in California, is a long-time activist. She has served as a former Education Committee member and President of the San Diego League of Women Voters and has experience in designing and conducting citizen action-research studies. These studies include a participant-based, self-evaluation of a district level Advisory Committee in San Diego (Stanton, Zerchykov, et al., 1979:103-132) and a case study of local community involvement in educational collective bargaining (Hamer, et al., 1979:73-95).

California's evaluation model, called "Program Reviews," relies on an on-site, almost ethnographic, approach to information gathering. The Program Reviews, moreover, embody a "formative evaluation" approach. The results are not intended to "grade" local Councils, but to identify strengths and areas for remedy. The identification of problems does not result in punishment but, rather, establishes eligibility for receiving technical assistance from the SEA.

4.1.1 School Site Councils and School Improvement in California

California's School Improvement Program (SIP), with its provision for School Site Councils (SSC), is based on the notion that parents and teachers are "co-producers" in the education of children. A "concept paper" which describes the basis of the School Improvement Program notes that:

> ...research confirms the premise that no improvement in the quality of schools is likely unless the people in individual schools, in concert with the people they serve, agree on what they want to accomplish, have the freedom to orchestrate resources to accomplish the tasks, have access to stimulating ideas and help from colleagues, [and] have the opportunity to work over time to achieve common objectives.... Research has also reaffirmed the importance of family and home as dominant influences on the young. Assisting and encouraging the family to play that role more effectively is an integral aspect of the California ECE plan (Davis, 1978:4-5).

"ECE" in the above quote refers to the Early Childhood Program. California's School Improvement Program is an outgrowth and expansion of ECE and, since promulgation in 1977, it has, in fact, "grandfathered" existing ECE programs.

4.1.2 From Early Childhood Education to School Improvement

In contrast to the general pattern (noted in Section Two, above) in which Federal initiatives prompted, either directly or indirectly, State participation mandates, California had taken an early lead in mandating special programs and in attaching parent participation mandates. For example, special education programs for the handicapped,

programs for gifted children, as well as programs funded with Federal Title I, ESEA funds, all have their separate State-mandated Advisory Committees.

Early Childhood Education (ECE), initiated in 1972, continued this practice but with two major differences. First, ECE was not a categorical, compensatory education program targeted exclusively at specific-target populations. ECE provided grants, $120 per child, to individual school buildings which submitted plans for improving the basic instructional program for all students in grades K - 3. Second, ECE Advisory Councils were intended to have planning, initiating and monitoring, and not merely advisory, functions. Those Councils, consisting of parents and teachers, developed plans on the basis of which individual school buildings were given ECE grants. By 1977, just at the advent of SIP, there were approximately 2600 schools in the State with ECE programs.

With the advent of AB 65, California's major school finance reform measure, ECE was "grandfathered" and expanded into the SIP program which retained many of the features inherent in the ECE progam. First, the program retained the emphasis on improving basic instruction but it was expanded to include grades 4 through 12. Second, allocations continued to be made on a per-pupil basis: $148 for K - 3; $90 for grades 4 - 8; and $65 for grades 9 - 12. By 1979, over 3000 schools in 840 districts received funds for school improvement; a little less than 50 percent of all elementary school pupils, and about 12 percent of secondary school students are served by SIP. Third, although, as was the case with ECE, local programs are coordinated by District Master Plans, monies continued to be allocated to school buildings. Fourth, allocations remained permissive, that is, no school district or building has to participate. Fifth, School Site Councils, again composed of parents and teachers, have responsibilities for devising building-level School Improvement Plans for receiving State monies. Such a Council:

> ...takes a critical look at the total school program by assessing what capabilities and abilities it wants its learners to possess, determines how effective the program and organization is in bringing about student growth,

> determines whether each student is achieving up to his potential, and whether the school climate is conducive to learning. The Council then presents arguments and data about local school willingness and need for a School Improvement Program. ...flat per pupil amounts are awarded to all districts whose proposals are chosen for funding. (Partnership With Citizens, 1980:6.)

Finally, as was the case with ECE, the State continues to evaluate and review local SIP programs. The evaluation process, those "Program Reviews" which are the focus of this Section, was an outgrowth of earlier procedures used in evaluating ECE programs.

4.2 BACKGROUND: EVALUATIONS OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION (ECE)

The California SEA selected, and trained, "monitor and review" (i.e., MAR) teams to evaluate local ECE programs. The purposes of that monitor and review process were to examine how the programs were functioning, to determine if schools were in compliance with State regulations, to assess strengths and weaknesses of each individual school's instructional program, and to suggest ways in which the program could be improved at that school site. A major focus of these MAR evaluations was on the contribution of ECE to student achievements. Some externally contracted evaluations, however, also produced data about the parent participation component and about the impact of ECE on schools' organizational processes.

4.2.1 Early Childhood Education (ECE) and Students' Achievement

Results of the assessments of students in ECE programs for the 1976-77 school year (as summarized in Partnership With Citizens, 1980:7) include the following:

- Students in ECE schools scored at or above the national average on the post-test in reading and progressed at a rate greater than the national average.
- Students in ECE schools scored from 0.5 to 2.6 standard score points above the national average on the post-test in mathematics; students in grade one showed the greatest growth.

- Historical profiles of reading achievement during the period 1973-74 to 1976-77 indicated that grade three students in ECE generally had higher scores than the students in those schools had before the schools entered ECE.
- The California Assessment Program showed that students in ECE schools made greater gains in reading between 1975-76 and 1976-77 than students in a similar group of non-ECE schools.
- Aggregate school reading scores showed greater improvement the more years a school had participated in the ECE program.

4.2.2 Early Childhood Education, Organizational Processes, and Students' Achievement

Evaluation data for the 1976-77 school year (again Partnership With Parents, op. cit., p. 1) revealed a connection between leadership and organizational management in schools and gains in student achievement. It was found that:

> Positive leadership and management of change, at both the district and school levels, characterized the schools with increasing scores; a lack of leadership or ineffective leadership was noted at the schools with decreasing scores...[and]...attempts to individualize the instructional program with the advent of ECE had positive effects on student achievement when people were responsible for learning; negative effects were noted in those schools in which the emphasis was on programs and materials.

4.2.3 Early Childhood Education, Organizational Processes, and Parent Participation

There were no separate attempts to evaluate ECE Councils independent of other measures of program effectiveness. However, some studies did reach highly suggestive but still inconclusive findings. For example, Baker (1978:viii) found that parents and principals report higher levels of parental influence in decisionmaking in ECE as compared to non-ECE schools. Deal (1977) also found that while the presence of ECE did produce organizational strains in schools--increased levels of conflict and lower levels of staff morale in ECE schools as compared to non-ECE schools--both principals and teachers in ECE schools saw gains in community relations. More specifically, they cited "better communication" and increased "sense of community support" as a benefit accruing from the presence of an ECE Council.

Baker (1978:viii) found that the participation mandate may have had a spillover effect: teachers in ECE schools reported their desire to influence more strongly the nature of local staff development. Heck (1977:233), however, found that there may be a conflict between lay and professional concepts of decentralized decisionmaking and concluded that: "The reassertion of lay control into routines and values of school staff would require change in these [i.e., staffs'] roles and tradition."

4.2.4 Transition: From Monitor and Review to Program Reviews

This record of Monitor and Review (MAR) evaluations, external comparative studies of ECE vs. non-ECE schools, and, in particular, the findings that schools' organizational processes have an impact on students' achievement, prompted a shift towards more comprehensive and multi-faceted strategies for evaluating program effects. Particularly influential among top policymakers was a study, completed by the State Department of Education as a part of the requirements under the Budget Act of 1977-78, which examined factors contributing to increasing and decreasing reading scores in 16 elementary schools of low socio-economic status with Early Childhood Education programs (Report of Special Studies, 1977). By examining the individual effects of specific factors--leadership, performance expectations, staff development, curriculum--contributing to declining or increasing scores, it concluded that the quality of the implementation of the program had a positive correlation to improved reading scores.

4.3 CALIFORNIA'S PROGRAM REVIEW MODEL

Early Childhood Education and School Improvement are multi-faceted programs with as much emphasis on process as on program. An exclusive emphasis on test scores cannot, then, capture and evaluate the process and dynamics of school improvement. This fact is recognized in the current model of the Program Review.

While the State's responsibility to monitor and review has continued, the name of the process was changed from Monitor and Review (MAR) to Program Review. The name change attempted to eliminate what

were perceived to be punitive connotations inherent in the term "Monitor".

4.3.1 Objectives

The current review model places a primary emphasis "on providing constructive feedback to districts and schools." This emphasis is embodied in four special features of the model.

(i) Peer-Group and Self-Assessment. This replaces an exclusive reliance on external reviews by visiting State teams.

(ii) Program Effects Rather Than Program Processes. Comments and feedback to the Department of Education over the last several years as well as special studies of low-effectiveness rated ECE schools had shown that some reviewers (and schools) had been interpreting the quality criteria in ways that emphasize compliance with means--"process for process' sake"--rather than ends, the effects of processes.

(iii) Qualitative Indicators. The rating scale is "anchored" on three points requiring school-site specific descriptions of high, medium and low quality.

(iv) Practical Utility. Data generated by these reviews help schools and program planners determine possible next steps and strengths from which to work rather than just listing school site programs' strengths and weaknesses.

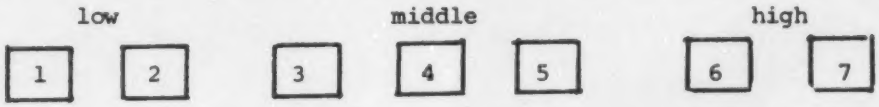
4.3.2 The Instrument: Criteria and Indicators of Program Quality

Evaluative criteria and strategies for review are contained in the Handbook for Assessing an Elementary School Program and Handbook for Assessing a Secondary School Program, which contain the "Program Quality Review Instrument" (PQRI), a summary of which is filed with the SEA by each review team after a review is conducted. These summaries provided the data used in this Report.

The "Quality Review Instrument" provides criteria for evaluating the school program in twelve different areas: How Students Are Learning; What They Are Learning; Learning Environment; Title I and EDY Programs; Bilingual Programs; Staff Development; Parent Participation and Education; Health and Guidance Services; District Support; School Site Councils; Translating Planned Program into Action; and

Planning and Evaluation. This Report is focused on the latter three. Evaluations for each component are contained in three descriptive paragraphs accompanying each component which define program quality: low, middle or high. Data gathered through observations, interviews and documentary evidence (e.g., school plan, budget, test scores, records of teachers, and School Site Council documents) allow review teams to evaluate the quality of each component, in terms of a seven point scale.

For purposes of this Report, the boxes were assigned numbers.



Not only is the school given an overall evaluation in each component, but also the school's strengths and weaknesses are indicated on a page accompanying each component called "opportunities for improving..." On the opportunities pages a number of specific points (approximately 7 to 9) are listed. The review team checks only 1 to 3 points out of the possible 7 to 9, that the school should carry out in order to strengthen its program. These are marked in one column. Those activities (again only 1 to 3) that the school should continue because they are contributing to the program are marked in another column. While only a summary review sheet is filed with the State Department of Education, written comments and notes as well as an oral presentation by the reviewers are made available to the school.

4.3.3 The Review Process

Program reviews are usually conducted by two-person teams composed of principals, teachers, program coordinators and/or officials from the SEA, county departments of education or district offices. Since over 700 educators have been trained as reviewers, an effort has been made to use fewer SEA people and more local educators as reviewers. In addition, the California State Department of Education

has helped in forming 20 regional "review" consortia involving over 400 small and medium sized and rural school districts. In reviews conducted by these consortia, the reviewers are typically teachers, project directors and principals from nearby schools who are themselves directly participating in School Improvement Programs. This procedure allows for peer group reviews. The SEA provides the same training and support services for consortium reviewers as it does for its own review teams. And, consortium reviews continue to adhere to State guidelines and SEA defined evaluative criteria.

Not only does California's Program Review process allow for such consortia, peer-group reviews but the review instrument has been designed to encourage self-assessment. There is evidence that most school-site SIP Councils are, in fact, using that instrument as a tool for self-evaluation. Schools reviewed in 1977-78 were asked to return a questionnaire to the State Department of Education concerning the review. Of the 72 percent of the schools returning the questionnaire, 67 percent of the schools had conducted a preliminary self-assessment prior to the visit of the State review team.

4.4 A REVIEW OF CALIFORNIA'S PROGRAM REVIEWS: METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The discussion in Sections 4.5 through 4.9, which follows, is based on a secondary analysis of Program Reviews filed with the State Department of Education. The sample included 93 elementary schools out of 378 schools with School Improvement Programs which were reviewed in 1978-79. In order to insure that urban, suburban and rural schools were represented in the sample, schools were selected from each of the six geographic regions into which the State has been divided by the SEA. Two lists of schools were used: the SEA workbook of scheduled reviews and the list of schools reviewed by the consortia. Data were collected on approximately every fourth school on the two lists which had a School Improvement Program. (While Program Reviews are also completed on schools that receive Title I, Educationally Disadvantaged Youth and Bilingual funds, schools which had only these programs and not SIP were not included in the sample.) Fifty-three

percent of the schools in the sample did receive Title I funds and 14 percent had funding for bilingual programs as well as School Improvement funds. Schools in the sample ranged from having been in the program from one to six years, but two-thirds of the sample had been in the program three or more years. Using the summary of the "Program Quality Review Instrument," data from three components--Parent Participation and Education, School Site Council, and Planning and Evaluation--were recorded. These three components were chosen for analysis in order to gain a sense of how extensively parents are involved in the program and how well those aspects of SIP function that involved parents, teachers and community members. The socio-economic status index, taken from the California Assessment Program, was also recorded for each school. If the school received Title I or bilingual funds, this was also noted.

4.5 GENERAL FINDINGS

A majority of schools were given a rating of "5" or better; few schools were given a rating of "3" or lower. Table 4A shows the distribution of ratings for Parent Participation, School Site Council, and Planning and Evaluation activities.

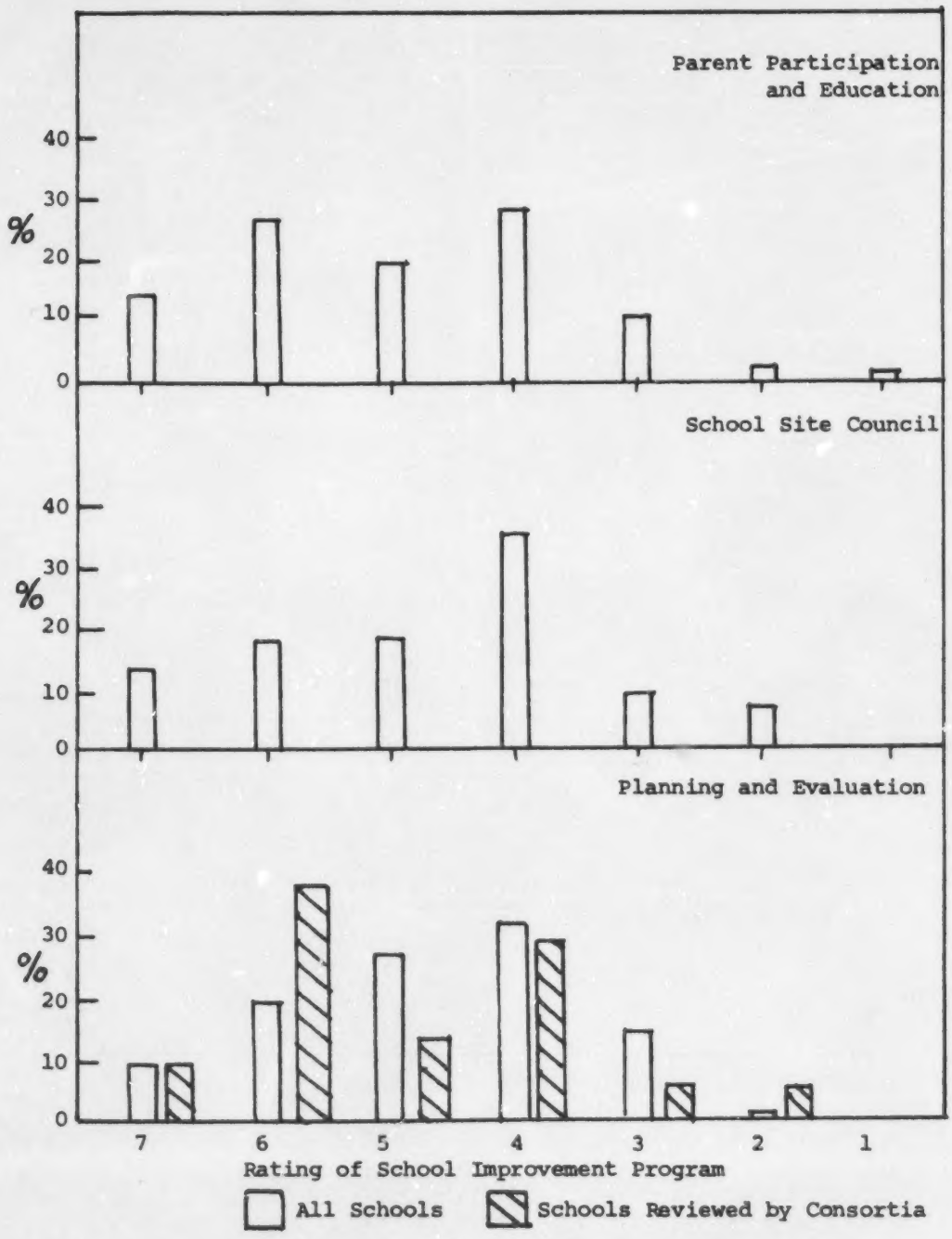
4.5.1 Consistency in the Review Instruments

While there appear to be some differences in the ratings given by the consortia versus those given by the State review teams, no clear pattern or trend emerges. In the present sample there are no major inconsistencies between the two review processes. (See Table 4A.) Most schools that received a high rating ("6" or "7") in one component did not receive below a "5" in any other component. These findings also imply that if a school program functions well in one of these three areas, particularly if the School Site Council receives a "7", then it also functions well in the other components.

There is evidence of consistency between the two kinds of review processes--SEA and consortia-conducted--and, there is a

TABLE 4A

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL RATINGS FOR THREE COMPONENTS
OF THE SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM



consistency in ratings between the three components chosen for the focus of our survey. There is also a consistent trend showing a correlation between a school's rating and the socio-economic status of its community.

4.5.2 SES and School Ratings: Title I Schools

Data show there is a direct correlation between the ratings given a school in each component and the socio-economic statistics index (SES) of the school. Table 4B, on the next page, shows this relationship for the three components: the higher the rating, the greater the average SES for the schools in each category.

Approximately one-half (53 percent) of the schools were recipients not only of School Improvement funds, but also of Compensatory Education and of Title I monies. To determine if there was a difference in the ratings of the quality of the School Site Council, the schools were separated into two groups: those with only SIP funds and those with SIP funds plus Title I funds. Table 4C shows the distribution along the seven point rating scale given for the quality of the School Site Council for all the schools, for schools with SIP funding, and for schools with SIP plus Title I funds.

Table 4C shows that schools with Title I funds did not have as high ratings on the quality of their Councils as did schools with only SIP funds. The differences are most obvious at the lower and higher ends of the scale with a concentration of Title I schools at the bottom. The following numbers clearly express this difference: of those schools whose School Site Council (SSC) received a high ("6" or "7"), 74 percent were schools with only SIP funds; whereas of those schools receiving a "3" or "2" 88 percent were Title I plus SIP funded schools. Moreover, as noted in Table 4A, these differences in ratings of effectiveness between SIP only and SIP plus Title I exist not only for the School Site Council, but also for the Parent Participation and the Planning and Evaluation components. It seems, then, that schools with educationally disadvantaged pupils qualifying for compensatory education funds or schools with a low SES index generally have more difficulty implementing an effective SIP program.

TABLE 4B

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SES AND SCHOOL RATINGS

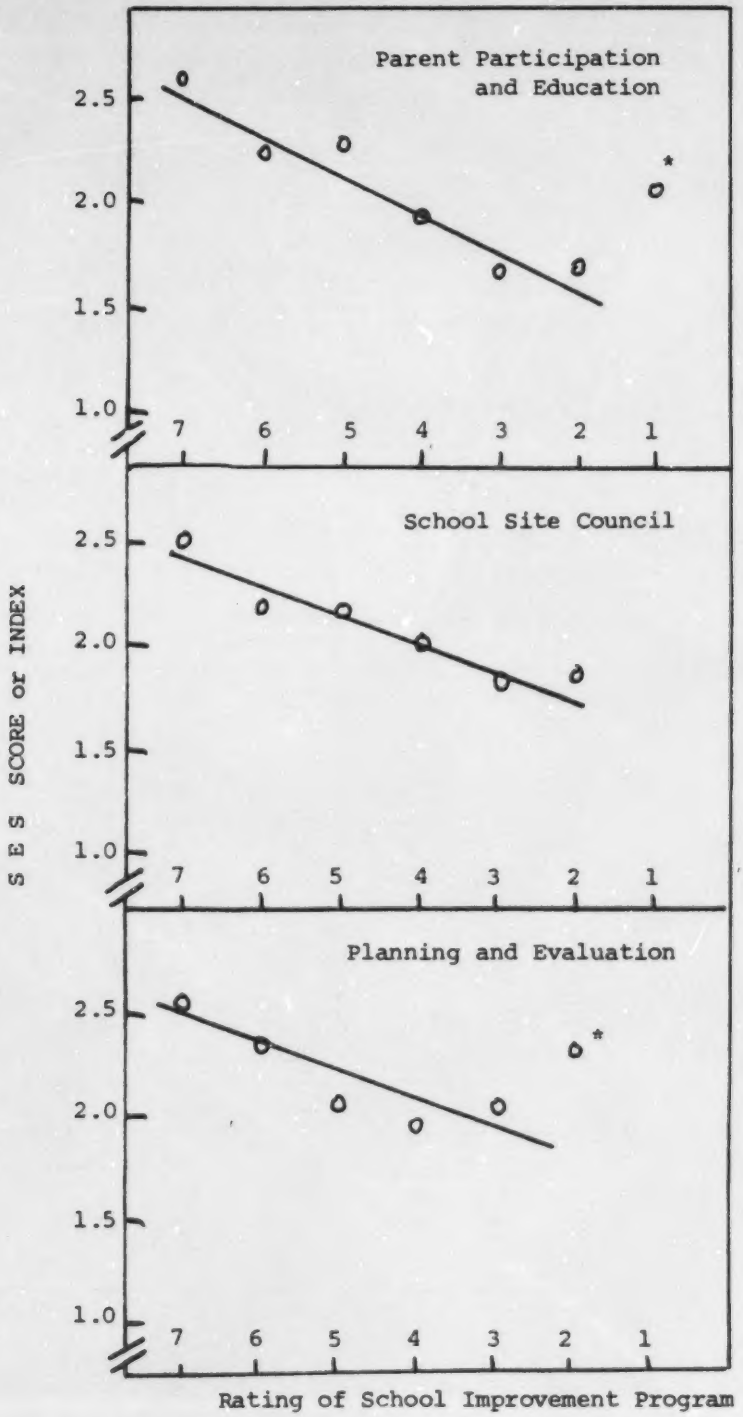


TABLE 4C

COMPARISON OF RATINGS OF TITLE I AND NON-TITLE I SIP SCHOOL COUNCILS

PROGRAM QUALITY RATING	PERCENT OF ALL SCHOOLS IN EACH CATEGORY	PERCENT OF NON-TITLE I SCHOOLS	PERCENT OF TITLE I SCHOOLS
7	13	23	4
6	18	23	12
5	18	18	18
4	35	32	40
3	9	2	14
2	7	2	12
1	0	0	0

4.6 PARENT PARTICIPATION AND PARENT EDUCATION

If the Parent Participation and Education component of the School Improvement Program is to receive a high rating most of the following conditions outlined in the review instrument must exist. The instruments instruct reviewers to search for evidence that parents: (i) "show knowledge, enthusiasm and commitment to the plan and its implementation;" (ii) "assist and enrich the plan through their participation in the program and classroom;" and (iii) "demonstrate general knowledge of how children learn so they can support children both in school and at home."

4.6.1 Indicators

Schools can achieve those goals of parental "knowledge, enthusiasm, involvement and support" by carrying cut some or all of the activities listed in the "opportunities" page of the Handbook.* These include:

a. Providing encouragement for parents to participate in the classroom and school program.

b. Sustaining involvement of parents and providing for their interests and concerns.

c. Identifying and using talents, interests and knowledge of parents in the classroom and school program.

d. Providing two-way home-school communications regarding students' day-to-day activities and the school program.

e. Providing home-school communication in the language(s) of the limited- and non-English-speaking parents.

f. Providing opportunities for parents to express interests and needs for parent education activities and to be involved in planning them.

g. Using scheduling, methods or presentation, and creating a learning climate which promotes participation in parent education.

4.6.2 Findings

From the data collected, a, b and c appear to be the key elements necessary to implement this component successfully. Schools receiving an overall rating of "6" or "7" were found to involve parents, sustain that involvement, and to identify and use the talents and interests of the

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* "Opportunities for Improving Parent Participation and Education" in Handbook for Assessing Elementary School Programs, California State Department of Education, 1978, pp. III:25.

parents. Schools receiving lower ratings were especially weak in identifying and using the talents of parents. In general, however, many schools appear, on the basis of review team reports, to be quite successful in involving parents in the education of children. Even schools receiving a "4" had as many specific strengths in this area as weaknesses which needed improving.

4.6.3 Parent Participation and Parent Education and SES: Ratings of Title I Schools

Schools with Title I funds had more trouble with this component than non-Title I schools. Although a significant number (20 percent) of the Title I schools were commended for providing home-school communications in the child's native language, this was not a significant activity that accounted for schools receiving high ratings in this component. This may be due to the fact that the model for parent involvement is a middle class model, and the criteria used to judge involvement (hours worked in the classroom) will therefore favor schools in middle and upper class neighborhoods where parents have time to work in the classroom.

4.6.4 Commentary and Assessment*

There seems to be an inconsistency in the instructions to reviewers and, hence, in the review instrument used to assess Parent Participation. This inconsistency may, in part, help to explain the consistently low ratings given to Title I and other low SES schools.

One part of the Handbook (used by all review teams) cautions against using "number of parents volunteering in the classroom" as the criterion for evaluating the effectiveness of a school's efforts to involve parents. But the indicators of program quality in this component all point to quantitative measures: numbers of parents involved. Given SIP's avowed purpose of "involving community resources" and engaging more parents in the education of their own children, there may be a need for additional means of measuring success in involving parents. Evaluators could, for example, examine the efforts of

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* This term as it is used here, and in subsequent pages of this Section, refers to the assessment of the program review instrument and not of the school reviewed.

the school to reach out to the community. Are parents, especially those whose past contacts with the school have been negative, made to feel welcome? Are schools involving senior citizens or unemployed young adults as volunteers, if parents are working and not available? More emphasis could be placed on two-way home-to-school communications. The data indicate that very little attention was given to this type of communication by either the schools or the review teams.

In short, the indicators used to assess "program quality" could use more behaviorial specificity: do schools, for example, offer parent education, and if they do, how, and in what areas? For example, some School Improvement Program schools have assembled Parent and Child Kits (PACK) used to assist parents in helping their children achieve specific instructional objectives. Kits are assigned by the teacher and parents are trained to use them. The kits are then assembled by groups of parent volunteers. Despite the existence of this practice, however, this practice is not too often cited by reviewing teams as a significant strength or as an activity which should be undertaken by schools to improve this component. It is not clear whether this reflects: (i) an underestimate by the reviewers of the need and usefulness of parent education, (ii) lack of more specific behavioral criterion indicators, or (iii) the restriction that only two or three significant strengths or weaknesses be identified in each review.

4.7 SCHOOL SITE COUNCILS

Under California's mandate, it will be remembered that Councils' responsibilities include: assessing the educational needs of students and the capability of the school to meet those needs; allocating funds in the budget to best accomplish the improvement goals; and, assisting the principal and staff in implementing, monitoring, evaluating and, then, modifying the adopted school improvement plan.

The Program Quality Review instrument defines a well functioning Council as one which has the following characteristics. First, it has "regular, well attended meetings that serve as the focal point for developing, evaluating and modifying the improvement plan and budget." Second, it is "broadly representative of the community and

[it] involves non-Council members in all phases of its activities." Third, "Council members and others have a high level of knowledge and understanding of the program and its implementation." And, fourth, "there is good integration and coordination among other advisory committees and programs."

4.7.1 Indicators

Activities which embody those aforementioned characteristics that define an effective Council include the following.* (Emphasis not in original.)

a. Providing in-service training with the objective of having each member understand:
   - The purpose of the SSC/SAC and his/her responsibilities as a member
   - How the group functions and how to carry out his/her responsibilities as a member
   - How to work with other councils or advisory committees
   - The regulations for each of the programs funded at the school through the Consolidated Application (A-127) [process]
   - What is provided by the various funding sources which is in addition to what the district provides
   - The day-to-day operation of the program

b. Verifying that individual SSC/SAC members are thoroughly familiar with both program descriptions and budgets for the consolidated programs at the school

c. Inquiring of parents and staff on each school council/committee if they feel that the relationships among the groups are productive and supportive of each group performing its tasks

d. Looking for ways to involve parents and staff members who are not members of the council/committee(s) in the work of the group(s)

e. Involving members in determining how the SSC/SAC functions by developing procedures such as those for:
   - Establishing agendas and activities which reflect the concerns of the school community

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* Handbook for Assessing School Programs (1978), p. 111-131.

- Giving information to and receiving information from the school community; e.g., telephone trees, buddy system, interviews, etc.

f. Providing services to support attendance of members and guests, such as:

- Methods of communication among SSC/SAC members, between groups and the school community which keep members knowledgeable and able to carry out their roles effectively and confidently
- Scheduling of meeting times to best fit the personal schedules of parents and staff
- Translation services for limited- or non-English speaking (LES/NES) parents

g. Examining membership recruitment and selection practices to determine if they are adequate to ensure selection of members who are representative of the school community

h. Other actions or activities described in the school plan (please specify)*

4.7.2 Findings

In contrast to the Parent Participation-Parent Education component, Program Reviews generally found that schools were having difficulties in "effectively" implementing Councils. There are more schools--a total of seven out of the sample of 93--which received a low rating on their Councils than on the other two areas. For those schools receiving a "4" --the median rating--multiple problems were identified: out of the sample, schools receiving a "4" rating had a total of 43 problems identified. Very few activities appear to be functioning well (only 12 good attributes were listed). If Councils that are doing well are examined, then two criteria commonly associated with high ratings become apparent: (i) "training Council members to increase their understanding of the program," and (ii) involving "non-Council members in all aspects of the program."

(i) Training. Failure to carry out training of Council members, both parents and staff, so that they have a clear understanding of their role responsibilities and the scope of the program, is a major source of

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* This residual category of "other actions...please specify" is a recurring item on lists of indicators for all components of SIP reviews. It allows reviewers to identify unanticipated strengths and weaknesses.

low ratings. Forty-two percent of the Councils receiving a "4", 88 percent of the Councils given a "3", and 100 percent of the Councils given a "2" needed to undertake training of their Council members. Not a single Council given a "4", "3" or "2" was commended for having done training. Even among the 12 schools receiving a "7", one was cited as needing training and only one was commended for providing training for its members. However, 42 percent of the schools receiving a "7" and 29 percent of the schools receiving a "6" were commended for verifying that members were familiar with both the program and budget. "Lack of training" is a problem that is not unique to California. Previous studies in Florida (Cunningham, et al., 1978) and South Carolina (Sandifer, Petersen, et al., 1978; Citizens Coalition, 1979) have uncovered a similar phenomenon.

(ii) Involving Non-Council Members. Because of parity requirements for membership on the SSC, the number of individuals involved on the Council, especially parents, may be quite limited. Criterion "d", "involving parents and staff who are not members," attempts to address the issue of Councils being "closet" committees. "Involving more people" is an activity that needs to be undertaken by 48 percent of the schools receiving a "5", and 24 percent of the schools given a "6" (although 35 percent of the schools given a "6" were commended for involving more than just committee members).

4.7.3 School Councils and SES: Ratings of Title I Schools

Some Title I and low-SES schools actually scored quite well on the School Council component of the Program Review. This is significant given the general correlation between low ratings in all components and low SES.

A closer look at what makes such high-rated, low-SES schools different was beyond the scope of this study. But, some hypotheses may be hazarded. First, low-SES schools, by definition, have more to gain from additional monies made possible by School Improvement Program grants. Hence, they may be expected to have a greater commitment to all aspects of SIP including the Council. Such a hypothesis is consistent with tentative findings in South Carolina where it was found (Sandifer, Petersen, et al., 1978) that on some measures, low

income districts, those most likely to gain from that State's school finance equalization formula, were slightly more positive towards certain aspects of the Education Finance Act. Second, increased effectiveness may be a function of longer experience with Councils, that is, educators in Title I and low-SES schools have learned to live with, appreciate, and support Councils. Parents in such schools may have had prior experience on Advisory Councils mandated under special categorical, low-income targeted programs such as Title I and bilingual PAC's. California, itself, has had a history of targeted participation mandates to insure representation of low income citizens. Early Childhood Education, the forerunner of the School Improvement Program, had a provision whereby 50 percent of all ECE site schools had to be low-SES. A similar, though less rigid, "balancing" provision is retained in the SIP program: the law requires that for every high-SES school that participates, there has to be a Title I or other officially designated low-SES school.

4.7.4 Commentary and Assessment

It is difficult to ascertain whether the comparatively low general assessment of Council effectiveness is a function of Councils' actual state or a function of the review instrument. On one hand, as stated in Section 4.5 above, there is a consistency in reviews: schools which scored low in the Council component also tend to score low in the other components. On the other hand, however, 23 percent of the schools given a "5", and 18 percent of the schools receiving a "4" have no weaknesses or problems identified. Reviewers may be sensing that a Council is not operating at its highest potential, yet remain unable to pinpoint the difficulty, at least, in terms of the indicators listed in the review instrument. A re-examination of some of those indicators may highlight the difficulties facing reviewers. For example, as noted above, reviewers consistently cited low scoring schools for failing to involve non-Council members. The indicators of "involving non-Council members" include:

> Looking for ways to involve parents and staff members who are not members of the council/committee(s) in the work of the group.... Establishing agendas and activities which reflect the concerns of the school community. (Emphasis not in the original.)

Key terms such as "work of the group" or "reflect the concerns of the school community," however, remain undefined. This has not reflected on the instrument's reliability: reviewers were able to focus consistently on involvement of non-members as a needed area for improvement. Lack of operational, behavioral definitions does, however, decrease the utility of the instrument and the review for the individual school. General criteria give no guidance to the Councils in knowing what improvement activities to undertake. Nor do they provide information needed by the State Department of Education if it is to assist these Councils. It would be more helpful to the school and perhaps to the review team if, for example, the criterion for involving non-Council members was more explicitly stated, e.g., "that there is an ongoing sub-committee structure in each of the program areas which allows for active involvement of non-Council members." This would make it easier for reviewers to pinpoint the difficulties Councils are having and it would provide more guidance for the Council in assessing itself.

4.8 PLANNING AND EVALUATION

School Improvement requires a continual process of assessing, planning, evaluating, and modifying the school program to meet changing needs of students. In order to insure that the "process" of improvement is taking place, planning and evaluation is assessed as a separate component by the review teams. Particular attention is given in the Review instrument to the role of Councils in carrying out the Planning and Evaluation components. A "high quality Planning and Evaluation component" is one in which the Council: (i) "has a thorough understanding and agreement upon the purpose and goals of all programs," (ii) "allocates resources which will enable the plan to be translated into action," and (iii) "has a well defined process and structure for planning, evaluating and modifying the program."

4.8.1 Indicators

A given Council's evaluation and planning capability is based on evidence of its ability to:

a. [Allocate] time and resources for planning and for evaluation activities

b. [Identify] individuals who are expected to provide specific leadership for the planning, ongoing planning, and year-end evaluations

c. [Establish] continuing review groups for various divisions of the program

d. [Make] provisions for monitoring the implementation of the program and for assessing the effectiveness of the program as implemented [by]:

- Asking a question in an area of the program in need of examination
- Determining what information is important in answering the question
- Deciding how and when this information is best collected
- Identifying who should review the information
- Identifying when and by whom the collected information will be analyzed
- Interpreting the results of the analysis in the context of the particular situation

e. ...[consider] difficulties in the program, [and distinguish] between flaws in the design of the program and mishaps or confusion in translating the plan into action

f. [Establish] a decision-making process for making program modifications which provides for:

- Using evaluation results
- Reconfirming during the year agreements about goals and expectations
- Determining the need for change
- Developing alternative procedures
- Selecting among alternatives
- Implementing selected procedures
- Ensuring that the focus for discussion is the SSC/SAC
- Establishing times at which decisions will be made

g. [Take] action on opportunities for improvement immediately after self-assessment and program review by district, consortium, or state review teams

h. [Anticipate] end-of-the-year planning for the next year of the three-year cycle by identifying early in the second semester those divisions of the program that will be newly developed and those currently being implemented which will likely undergo greatest modification*

4.8.2 Findings

Three indicators are most often cited in reviewers' assessment of Councils' involvement in the Planning and Evaluation component: "d", data-analysis and assessment of program; "c", forming sub-committees to monitor various facets of the program; and "f", establishing a decision-making process for modifying the program. The other five indicators seem to identify overlapping or correlative functions. For example, if a monitor and evaluation process is established, "who is going to do it," "when it will be done," and "the resources needed" are steps inherent in any well-developed evaluation process.

Reviewers found recurring difficulties in this area of Planning and Evaluation and identified twice as many weaknesses as strengths. Even the schools given a "5" or "6" rating were cited as needing to undertake one or more of the three key activities mentioned above. Twenty-four percent of the schools given a "5" were identified as not having an evaluation or monitoring process, a decisionmaking process, and/or sub-committees to do the work. The schools given a "4" had multiple problems: 43 percent were cited for not having a monitoring committee; 30 percent had not developed a decisionmaking process.

4.8.3 Commentary and Assessment

Several factors may explain Councils' difficulties with this Planning and Evaluation function. First, the primary focus for schools in 1978-79 was on making the transition from ECE to SIP. In many cases, then, Councils may have been busy drafting new plans with correspondingly little attention given to evaluation. Second, "monitor and evaluate" is a difficult, if not impossible, function for Councils to perform. Given the informal norms which discourage

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* Handbook (1978), op cit., pp. III-35.

review of educators and their activities by those other than their peers, it is possible that there may be a subtle resistance to Councils' evaluation initiatives. While this explanation is offered as a hypothesis rather than a finding or a conclusion, California's earlier experience with ECE is instructive and suggestive. Deal (1978) found that the introduction of ECE, with its mandate for Councils, heightened levels of tension and conflict at some ECE schools. This is not surprising given the organizational structure of schools as depicted in Section 3.3, above. It was also California's experience with ECE which led researchers (e.g., Heck, 1977:233) to pinpoint those deep-seated informal norms which make schools highly resistant to evaluation by quasi-official bodies such as Councils which have not yet been fully integrated into schools' formal structures of decisionmaking and accountability. Any evaluation of a program is also, implicitly, an evaluation of people who are engaged in performing that program. And, evaluating people is an enterprise that is always fraught with tension and conflict. School Site Councils' non-performance of their evaluation function may, therefore, be a conscious or even unconscious conflict-avoidance strategy. This may be especially true since the "parity" mandate also means that up to one-half of the Council may consist of school staff.

California is not unique in this respect. Sections Six and Seven below suggest that Councils in South Carolina and in Florida have similar difficulties in acting as school site monitors and accountability mechanisms.

4.9 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A fair amount of space in this Section has been devoted to verbatim excerpts of California's "Program Quality" indicators. This was done not only to explicate the findings of the secondary analysis of a sample of 93 Program Review reports but also to disseminate information about California's Review model. It should be noted that the indicators are of a generic character, that is, they can be applied to Councils and community involvement mechanisms in general. The generic character of those indicators, then, is one promising feature

of California's Program Review model.

A second feature is that the model takes chances. It does not depend on survey data--i.e., respondents' perceptions of program quality--alone, but utilizes on-site observation. Nor does it depend on crude correlations between "input"--implementation of the program --and "output"--typically measured in test scores. While a reliance on on-site observation and qualitative indicators always raises problems of measurement and validity, findings from the sample of 93 Program Reviews suggest that there is a consistency (and, hence, prima facie evidence of validity) in the review instrument across the different program components--Parent Participation, Councils, Planning and Evaluation. Most schools receiving a high rating, a "7" or a "6" in one component did not receive below a "5" in any other component. There is also evidence of consistency within the same component among different reviewers. For example, despite a seemingly open-ended list of quality indicators for the Councils component, most reviewers identified similar sets of activities as crucial for effective Council functioning.

Third, the generic indicators of quality are not just extrapolations of legislative or administrative language, but are grounded in studies of Councils and their integration into schools' organizational processes. These studies, conducted by UCLA and Stanford (e.g., Deal; Baker; Heck; op cit.) on ECE schools and ECE Councils have contributed to our general understanding of schools and Councils.

Finally, the Program Quality indicators are public and, as such, the lists of indicators for each component serve as a de facto elaboration and clarification of California's mandate for Councils. This feature of the Program Review model gives it the potential for being an evaluation tool which does not simply "police" LEA's adherence to the letter of the law but reinforces compliance with the intent of the School Improvement Program and its mandate for Councils. In California, therefore, that elusive factor--intent--is less mysterious. Intent is specified within the pages of the Program Assessment Handbook and is available not only to reviewers but to the schools and Councils being reviewed.

SECTION FIVE. RESOURCES: EDUCATION IMPROVEMENT PROJECT GRANTS IN FLORIDA

As noted in Section Three, the School Advisory Council, no matter what its origin or functions, has much in common with citizens advisory committees mandated in other public policy areas. A study conducted by the Rand Corporation in the early 1970's surveyed the effectiveness of of a whole array of mandated citizen involvement structures in United States, Department of Health, Education and Welfare-funded programs (Yin, et al., 1973). The study found that citizens' committees were most effective when they had resources--money, staff and materiel. Even more important than the level of resources is the committee's access to, or rather "ownership" of, such resources. Subsequent research has shown that contacts with the immediate environment, i.e., networking with other local community organizations, can also be an invaluable resource for Councils (McDonnell and Zellman, 1978). Florida's recent (1978) Education Improvements Projects Act initiated a program of small grants to individual schools and school districts in which Councils play a key role, either as direct recipients of grants for Council maintenance and training, or as partners in planning and implementing local, small-scale school improvement projects. The latter provision, given the requirement that all projects must have Council involvement, acts as a fiscal incentive for "networking" --collaboration and resource sharing between Councils and other community organizations.* This Section describes and analyzes Florida's policy of Educational Improvement Project Grants, popularly known as mini-grants, or EIP grants.

These mini-grants, ranging from a statutory minimum of $500 to a maximum of $5,000, are awarded annually--the funding cycle runs from

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* Following the terminology defined in Section One, the generic term "Councils" is used synonymously with Florida's designation of such bodies as "advisory committees." The latter term will be used when quoting or paraphrasing Florida's legislation and regulations.

1 November to 31 October--and on a competitive basis. Intended to stimulate "closer working relationships between school and community" (Educational Improvement Projects Act, Chapter 78-416, Section 229.59 (1), the mini-grants are targeted at the State-mandated School Advisory Councils. The statute not only specifies "district and school advisory committee improvement" as one of the allowable areas of expenditure but also stipulates that proposals "shall be developed with the assistance of district and school advisory committees." A subsequent Florida State Department of Education regulation (Information Digest, 1978) reads: "Proposal Development: the projects must be developed with the assistance of district and school advisory committees" (emphasis not in original).

5.1 BACKGROUND

Florida's mandate for Advisory Councils was enacted in 1973. The legislation establishing mini-grants, the Educational Improvement Projects Act, was passed in 1978. In that interim, the Florida State Legislature commissioned an outside evaluation of the omnibus legislation, the Florida Education and Finance Program of 1973, which contained the mandate for Advisory Councils. Part I, Chapter 3 of that Evaluation Report (Cunningham, et al., 1978) contained a status report on Advisory Councils. Prepared by the Institute for Responsive Education under subcontract to the Evaluation Team, the status report was based on: (i) a survey of all 67 school districts in Florida; (ii) an in-depth survey of 287 local Council chairpersons and principals; (iii) field interviews with 88 local participants; and (iv) content analyses of annual reports of school progress and policy statements and guidelines for school Advisory Councils from 36 districts. Data was collected between 1 August 1977 and 20 December 1977.

At that time the IRE study team found that less than 10 percent of the Advisory Councils surveyed engaged in activities which realized legislative intent (Cunningham, et al., 1978: 268-269). Such conditions were not surprising. In part, they reflected the relative novelty of the mandate and the inevitable difficulties in implementation. The difficulties experienced by Councils also stemmed from lack of resources--

information and training available to Advisory Councils--and support for Advisory Councils. Recognizing the similarity between these conditions and the nexus between Advisory Councils' effectiveness and access to resources identified in other research (cf. Yin, et al., 1973), the Evaluation Report concluded with the recommendation that the State provide (Cunningham, et al., 1978: 268):

> small (from $500 to $5,000) committee improvement grants to local advisory committees or independent citizen organizations or other non-profit groups to provide training and other forms of assistance to local advisory committees.

That recommendation was acknowledged in the preamble to Florida State Department regulations (Information Digest, 1978) implementing the mini-grant program. Noting that "as the result of this report [Improving Education in Florida: A Reassessment], Educational Improvement Grants became a reality," the preamble anticipates that "these grants will strengthen community involvement in our educational system and afford participating individuals with an inside view of the educational process."

5.2 PATTERNS OF FUNDING

Since the enactment of the statute for mini-grants in 1978, Florida is now in its 2nd cycle of awards. This Report surveys grant-awards made in fiscal year 1978-79.

5.2.1 Rules and Regulations for 1978-79

One hundred and fifty-seven mini-grants were awarded. These grants are awarded competitively on the basis of proposals submitted by local boards of education who remain the fiscal agents for all grants. Projects may be administered, however, by district and building-level school officers, Advisory Councils themselves, other citizen organizations such as PTA's, or other non-profit organizations.

Regulations stipulate that all project proposals involve a public school or cluster of schools and that all proposals be "developed with the assistance of local or district advisory committees." The latter provision is enforced by requiring co-signature of proposals by Council chairpeople (along with district superintendents and district

school board chairpeople).* In addition, Item 12 in the grant proposal application form requires all applicants to:

> indicate the involvement of the district and school advisory committee members, school volunteers, community representatives, or other non-school persons [in both] the preparation of project proposals [and] in the proposed activities.

While all proposals must thus reflect "the assistance of advisory committees," the "allowable topics of funding" include not only (i) "advisory committee improvement" but also (ii) "school volunteers," and (iii) "other educational areas which would be improved through a closer relationship between school and community."

Proposals are reviewed by a 12-member Task Force whose members are selected by the Director of Public Schools in the SEA and who serve on the Task Force for one year. This Task Force is composed of SEA personnel, representatives from other governmental agencies, and education and citizens' organization leaders. The Task Force is complemented by an additional four Ex-Officio Consultants, two of whom must be staff members from the State legislature. Final decisions are made on the basis of a blind rating process. Grants are not automatically renewable. Previous recipients may, however, reapply. All recipients must prepare reports on funded activities and accomplishments of project objectives. These reports provided the basis for the State Department of Education's 1978-79 Synopsis of Educational Improvement Project Grants. That Synopsis, in turn, provides the data base for the following review of: who gets funded and in what topics.

"Who" refers to grant recipients. "Topics" refers to the three "allowable" areas of funding: "advisory committee improvement," "school volunteers," or "other educational area...." The breakdown and classification of the number of grants and the amount granted

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* Information for this discussion came from: Information Digest on Education Improvement Projects, Florida State Department of Education, July, 1978. Current regulations including recent changes in force for the 1979-80 cycle of awards are discussed at the conclusion of this Section on Florida Education Improvement Projects Grants.

are based on content analyses of the individual project descriptions contained in the 1978-79 Synopsis.

5.2.2 Who Gets Funded and In What Topics

Only local boards of education which act as fiscal agents can be recipients of EIP grants. But, as noted, projects may be administered by a variety of agents including citizens organizations--Advisory Councils or PTA's. On the basis of the Synopsis (op.cit.), 157 grants for a total of $445,950 were awarded in 1978-79. The overwhelming proportion of grants were administered by local school districts and local school principals. The breakdown of the number of grants and monies for five categories of recipients--LEA's, individual schools, Advisory Councils, OTA's/PTO's, and "other"--is shown in Table 5A, "Breakdown of Grants by Type of Recipient," on the next page. The Table shows that out of 157 grants, a total of 13, or 8 percent were awarded to projects run by membership citizens' organizations--PTA's or Advisory Councils.

Table 5B, "Breakdown of Grants by Topic," shows that 22 grants were made specifically for Advisory Committee Improvement, representing a total of $61,160 out of $445,950 in monies granted for fiscal year 1978-79. Eight of these 22 grants were administered directly by Advisory Councils. This represents 6 percent of all monies allocated for Advisory Council improvement. This shows that, first, a distinct minority of Education Improvement Project Grants, both in terms of number of grants and monies granted, went towards Advisory Council improvement. Second, of that sub-total, the number of grants for Advisory Council improvement actually administered by Advisory Councils themselves is even smaller. In sum, 5 percent of the number of all grants awarded and 6 percent of all monies granted in fiscal year 1978-79 were used by Advisory Councils themselves to effect their own improvement.

5.3 GRANTS FOR SCHOOL VOLUNTEERS

This "topic" received the largest number of grants and the largest amount of monies. Since most of the grants in this category are for a single purpose, it is possible to present an extended

TABLE 5A

BREAKDOWN OF FLORIDA'S EDUCATIONAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT GRANTS BY RECIPIENT

TYPE OF RECIPIENT	NUMBER OF GRANTS	PERCENT OF GRANTS	MONIES	PERCENT OF MONIES
School Districts	72	46	237,868	53
School Building	59	38	122,967	28
Other (Inter-District Consortia, Non-profit Organization and Grantees Not Readily Identified on Basis of Information in Project Synopsis)	13	8	40,555	9
Councils	8	5	28,710	6
PTA/PTO	5	3	15,850	4
TOTALS	157	100	445,950	100

TABLE 5B

BREAKDOWN OF MINI-GRANTS BY TOPIC

TOPIC	NUMBER OF GRANTS	PERCENTAGE OF GRANTS	TOTAL MONIES	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MONIES
School Volunteers	74	47	224,051	50
Other Educational Areas	61	39	160,739	36
Advisory Committee Improvement	22	14	61,160	14
TOTAL	157	100	445,950	100

breakdown of the 74 grants ($224,051) awarded for school volunteers in terms of projects providing for: (i) salaries for volunteer program directors; (ii) training for parents and school staff; (iii) overhead, i.e., general support; and (iv) "special programs" utilizing school volunteers. That breakdown is presented on Table 5C on the next page. The Table shows that out of 74 grants awarded for School Volunteer Programs, 22 were specifically for salary support, amounting to 30 percent of the grants awarded in this "topic", and 44 percent of the monies granted for volunteer programs. Salary support for school volunteer programs is the largest single category of funding for all 74 grants. This sub-topic, i.e., salary support, represents 14 percent of the total number of all project grants and 21 percent of all monies allocated in the 1978-79 cycle of awards.

Second, in amount of money awarded*, were projects to train parents to act as school volunteers. Eighteen grants for parent volunteer training accounted for 24 percent of the grants awarded for school volunteers and, at $58,017, 26 percent of the monies awarded for school volunteers. Training school staff to work with school volunteers, however, received the lowest priority: 7 percent of the grants within the volunteers topic and 8 percent of monies allocated.

"Special Projects" is an omnibus category covering a variety of projects, many of which are characterized by multiple purposes and varied activities. These activities are presented in the following breakdown:

Activity	Number of Grants
Cultural Enrichment, i.e., Arts	4
Math Tutoring	4

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* Given the scope of this study it was not possible to determine whether this order in priority of areas funded is due to priorities on the part of the Task Force which reviews proposals, or whether, for example, that the Task Force received more grant applications for supporting salaries of school volunteer program coordinators than it did for training staff. That determination required data about the funding process--a comparison of applications received vs. grants funded.

TABLE 5C

BREAKDOWN OF GRANTS FOR SCHOOL VOLUNTEERS: BY SUBTOPIC

SUBTOPIC	NUMBER OF GRANTS	PERCENT OF SUBTOTAL	PERCENT OF TOTAL	MONIES	PERCENT OF SUBTOTAL	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Salaries and Expenses for School Volunteer Program Directors	22	30	14	97,634	44	21
Training: Parent School Volunteers	18	24	11	58,017	26	12
Overhead: Start-Up and General Support	17	23	10	26,800	12	6
Special Projects (See additional breakdown in the text)	12	16	8	23,450	10	5
Training: School Staff to Use Volunteers	5	7	4	18,150	8	3
TOTALS	74	100	47	224,051	100	47

Activity (continued)	Number of Grants (continued)
Reading	2
Environmental Education	1
Senior Citizens as School Volunteers	1
Day-Care for Parents Still in High School	1
Bilingual Tutors	1
Early Childhood Education	1
Recruiting Minorities	1
Resource File of Community "Experts"	1
Public Service Announcement in Local Media to Encourage Volunteering	1
	18*

5.4 GRANTS FOR "OTHER EDUCATIONAL AREAS"

As defined in program regulations, "other areas" is a residual omnibus category that encompasses a variety of projects. Grants for projects in "other areas" range from a slide tape designed to improve schools' image in the community to special programs for handicapped, to a local PTA-sponsored project to increase citizens' knowledge of and access to educational collective bargaining. For fiscal year 1978-79, it represents the second largest category of funding: 39 percent of all grants awarded and 36 percent of all funds distributed.

Table 5D, on the next page, presents a breakdown of grants for "Other Educational Areas". Many of the grants in this topic were multi-purpose grants. The category "other" in Table 5D represents those multi-purpose grants which cannot be classified solely in terms of the Table's generic categories, i.e., public relations, adult and community education, etc. Table 5D shows that out of a total of 61 grants in this topic, "Public Relations"--efforts to improve schools' image and school-community communications--received the greatest number of awards (30 percent) and highest percentage of

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* Please note: Number adds up to more than 12 due to multi-purpose grants.

TABLE 5D

BREAKDOWN OF GRANTS IN "OTHER EDUCATIONAL AREAS" BY SUBTOPIC

SUBTOPIC	NUMBER OF GRANTS	PERCENT OF SUBTOTAL	PERCENT OF TOTAL	MONIES	PERCENT OF SUBTOTAL	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Public Relations: Improving School-Community Relations	18	30	11	43,925	27	11
Special Projects (see additional breakdown in the text)	14	23	9.5	40,272	25	10
Parent and Parenting Education (see additional breakdown in the text)	14	23	8.5	35,825	22	9
Curriculum Improvement	7	10	4	13,900	9	3
Adult and Community Education	4	7	3	17,017	11	4
Special Education (e.g., learning disabilities, handicapped and compensatory and remedial education	4	7	3	9,800	6	2
TOTAL	61	100	39	160,739	100	39

monies allocated (27 percent). However, at 23 percent of the number of grants each, "special projects" and "parent education" also represented a sizable proportion of the monies allocated.

Two types of projects were typical of parent education: (i) training in "parenting," e.g., how to reinforce children's academic progress through activities in the home; and (ii) education in various aspects of schools' programs and processes. The breakdown of the total of 14 projects dealing with parent education follows:

Type of Activity	Number of Projects
Parenting Education*	6
Parent Education in:	
Understanding the Handicapped	2
Bilingual Education	1
Curriculum Materials and Pedagogical Practices	2
School Governance	1
Collective Bargaining	1
Development of a Parents Resource Center on Curriculum	1

5.5 GRANTS FOR ADVISORY COMMITTEE IMPROVEMENT

As noted, this represents the smallest topic of funding: 22 out of 157 grants were applied directly for "advisory committee improvement." The Synopsis reveals two characteristic patterns of funded "improvement" activities: (i) improvements in Councils' organizational functions, or "Council Maintenance" and (ii) improvements in Councils' capacity to undertake programmatic actions--either to effect educational improvements or involve communities in schools.

Type of Improvement Activities	Number of Projects
Council Maintenance	17
Programmatic Capacity	12

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* Typically described in the Synopsis, op cit., as "parent effectiveness training."

5.5.1 Council Maintenance

This sub-topic covers a number of types of activities. There are three generic maintenance activities: improvements in committees' group process skills; increases in committees' knowledge base; improved communication with Advisory Councils' "significant others"--principals, school boards, and the community.

Type of Maintenance Activity	Number of Projects
Group Process Skills	7
Knowledge Base	7
Communications - Constituency Building	6
with school board	1
with principals	1
with community	4

A fair proportion, 16 out of 22 grants, also provided for some sort of training for Advisory Councils. The areas of training are as follows:

Type of Training	Number of Projects
Group Process	4
Leadership Skills	3
School Governance	3
Communication	2
Using Information	1
Constituency Building:	
Increasing public involvement on SAC's	1
Education Finance	1
Education Law	1

5.5.2 Programmatic Activities

Activities under this category include Councils' actions--services to the school community made possible by EIP funding. These include:

Type of Activity	Number of Projects
Public Relations: Increasing Community Support for Schools	6
Parent Education	7
Information Brochures	1
Community Surveys/Needs Assessments	3
Community Goal-Setting	1

Type of Activity (continued)	Number of Projects (continued)
Parents Handbook on School Operations and Services	1
Slide Tape for Parents	1
Translation of Annual School Report into Spanish	1
Speakers Bureau	1
Parents Resource Center/Library	2

Parent education activities were also a common type of service performed by Councils. The breakdown by topic of parent education is as follows:

Topic	Number of Projects
Reading skills and curriculum	2
Math	1
Literacy for Black Children	1
Early Childhood Development	2
School Governance	1

5.6 SUMMARY: A SECOND LOOK AT PATTERNS OF FUNDING

Table 5E, on the next page, presents a summary breakdown, in rank-order, according to amount of monies awarded, for each of the sub-categories described and broken down in Tables 5B - 5D. Even this summary, however, does not adequately capture the variety of the activities funded by Florida's EIP grants. Any classificatory scheme which allows for quantitative statistical breakdowns must use mutually exclusive categories. However, when applied to multi-purpose projects with varied activities, such classificatory schemes may be misleading.

There is a need, then, to re-analyze the 157 grants in terms of a classificatory scheme which is not only derived from categories inherent in the administration of grant awards but also reflects the intent of Florida's Educational Improvement Project Grants. That intent (cf. Information Digest, op. cit.), as spelled out in the preamble, is two-fold: (i) "strengthen[ing] community involvement in our educational system;" and (ii) "affording participating

TABLE 5E

SUMMARY BREAKDOWN, IN RANK ORDER, OF SUB-TOPICS OF FUNDING

SUB-TOPIC	MONIES	PERCENT OF TOTAL	NUMBER OF GRANTS	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Salaries and Expenses for School Volunteer Program Directors	97,634	21	22	14
Training: Parent School Volunteers	58,017	12	18	11
Public Relations	43,925	11	18	11
Training for Councils	41,940	10	16	10
Parent Education	40,272	10	14	10
Overhead for School Volunteer Programs	26,800	6	17	10
Funds for Councils' Service and Program Activities	19,220	4	6	4
Training School Staff to Use Parent Volunteers	18,150	4	5	4
Adult and Community Education	17,017	4	4	3
Basic-Curriculum Improvement	13,900	3	7	4
Special Education	9,800	2	4	3
Other: Special Projects and Multi-Purpose Grants	63,722	13	26	16
TOTAL	445,950	100	157	100

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individuals with an inside view of the educational process." A third, and implied, intent is to increase schools' capacities to institutionalize community involvement.

5.6.1 Grants "Strengthening Community Involvement in the Educational System"

The breakdown of grants according to the three allowable areas of funding--advisory committee improvement, school volunteers, and other educational areas--revealed that support for citizen participation on Advisory Councils seemed to be a low priority. This impression, an artifact of the classification scheme, underestimates, however, the positive impact of Florida's Education Improvement Project Grants on citizen participation. Citizen participation is a continuum of involvement ranging from offering opinions to helping schools in improving services to participating in decisions about what services should be offered by schools and how schools should offer them. The primary focus and the explicit bias of this Report is on citizen participation in school decisionmaking via membership on Advisory Councils. The full impact of Florida's funding program on citizens' capacity to participate in decisionmaking can be seen by considering the funded topics in light of the continuum of citizen involvement.

Citizens can participate by being members of Advisory Councils, thus having a formal, albeit advisory, role in decisions about school program. A second type of involvement consists of parents' role as "co-producers" in the enterprise of schooling. This can consist of, for example, helping schools' deliver educational services by acting as volunteers in schools and as teachers of their own children at home. A third type of involvement is defined by the role of parents as informed citizens, as knowledgeable consumers, of schools' programs and decisionmaking processes. A fourth type of involvement consists of the exercising of parents' and citizens' opinions via such quasi-formal but non-collective mechanisms as community surveys, needs assessments, etc. With this typology in mind, it is possible to take a second look at the data and provide a re-classification of the 157 mini-grants in terms of their contribution to these

different levels of parent and citizen involvement. For example:

Level of Involvement and Parental Role	Topic and Sub-Topic of Funding
Advice: Parents as Decisionmakers	Grants for Advisory Committee Improvement
"Co-Production": Parents as Helpers at School and at Home	Grants for School Volunteer Programs
	Grants for Parent Education in School Program and for Parent Effectiveness Training
Citizenship: Parents as Consumers	Grants for Parent Education in School Governance and Administrative Procedures
	Grants for Community Opinion Surveys and Needs Assessments

This breakdown makes it possible to gauge the full impact of Florida's mini-grants on parental involvement by aggregating all the grants which are covered in the topics in the left-hand column in the list above. A sample of this type of aggregation and comparison is depicted on Table 5F on the next page. It shows that 75 percent of all grants and 79 percent of all monies allocated, directly or indirectly, support levels of non-passive* parental involvement in schools.

5.6.2 Grants "Affording Participating Individuals With an Inside View of the Educational Process"

A smaller subset of projects involve "skills-building" activities for parents. These skills-building activities include: (i) grants to train school volunteers; (ii) grants for parent education; and (iii) grants for "advisory committee improvement" which either provide training for Councils or enable Councils to effect parent education activities. A summary breakdown of those grants which contribute to

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* This excludes "public relations/school-community communications" projects which provide general rather than specific information on what schools are doing and involve citizens only as consumers of information.

TABLE 5F

GRANTS CONTRIBUTING TO COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT: IN RANK-ORDER BY AMOUNT FUNDED

	MONIES	PERCENT	NUMBER OF GRANTS	PERCENT
Grants for School Volunteer Programs	224,051	47	74	47
Grants for Advisory Committee Improvements	61,160	14	22	14
Grants for Parent Education Projects	35,825	9	14	8.5
Grants for Surveys, Needs Assessments (Not included in the categories above)	24,135	5	7	4
SUB-TOTALS	345,171	79	117	75

citizens' and parents' competencies is shown on Table 5G on the next page. It shows that 45 percent of all grants and 32 percent of all monies contributed to citizens' having an "inside view of the educational process."

5.6.3 Grants "Improving Schools' Capacity to Sustain Community Involvement"

"Capacity" in this context refers to tangible outcome, i.e., "products"--manuals and handbooks, resource centers, and parents' libraries and information centers. These "products" can be seen as durable capital investments which increase schools', communities' and Advisory Councils' stock of resources. Also included in this new category, "products" are projects which involve processes--goal-setting and needs-assessment activities--that result in products, i.e., documents and reports. The kinds and frequency of products developed as a result of mini-grant funding are depicted on Table 5H below.

5.7 POSTSCRIPT

Notwithstanding the manifest benefits of funding the kinds of community involvement and school improvement activities listed above, Florida's Educational Improvement Project Program, at least as implemented in fiscal year 1978-79, did not focus on providing Advisory Councils with the resources for their organizational maintenance and improvement. The result is a program whose scope is much broader than that envisioned in the original recommendation as contained in the 1978 Evaluation Report. That Report (Cunningham, et al., 1978:268) suggested that the State provide:

> small...improvement grants to local advisory committees or independent citizens' organizations or other non-profit groups to provide training and other forms of assistance to local advisory committees. (Emphasis not in original.)

Two recent developments, however, presage a renewed thrust to focus some resources for Advisory Councils while still retaining the

TABLE 5G

GRANTS FOR CITIZENS' SKILLS-BUILDING: IN RANK ORDER BY AMOUNT FUNDED

	NUMBER OF GRANTS	PERCENT	MONIES	PERCENT
Training School Volunteers	12	9	58,017	13
Parent Education	14	9	40,272	9
Training for Advisory Councils	15	10	37,790	8
Parent Education Projects Conducted by Advisory Councils	4	3	10,860	2
SUBTOTALS	45	31	146,939	32

TABLE 5H

BREAKDOWN OF GRANTS BY TYPE OF PRODUCT AND OUTCOME

TYPE AND PURPOSE OF PRODUCT	PRODUCT OR OUTCOME	NUMBER OF GRANTS
Improving Public Relations and Schools' Image	Slide Tape	8
	Brochures	2
	24-hour Telephone "Hot-Line"	1
	Newsletter	2
Handbooks and Manuals	Handbooks for Parents	3
Resources for Advisory Councils	Handbooks for Councils	2
	Training Manuals	3
	Resource Library for Councils	1
	Parent Information and Resource Centers	3
	Self-Evaluation Model for Councils	1
Curriculum Improvement	Writing Labs	1
	Learning Packets in Math	1
	Math Labs	5
	Reading Labs	2
School Volunteers	Tutoring Kits	2
	Resource File on Volunteers	1
	Handbook for Teachers Using Volunteers	1
	Handbook for Parent Volunteers	1
	Training Model for Volunteers	1
Community Involvement in Planning	Goal Setting Task Force Reports	2
	Needs Assessments	5
	Community Surveys	4
Other (Miscellaneous)	Discipline Codes	2
	Resource File on Career-Education	1

broad focus and multiplicity of purposes eligible for support under the mini-grant program. The first development is manifested in changes of the regulations for the current (fiscal year 1979-80) funding cycle of Educational Improvement Projects. The second is manifested in a recently released Legislative Oversight Committee Staff Report which suggests even further targeting of assistance for Advisory Councils.

5.7.1 Changes in Regulations for 1979-80

The latest changes portray an interesting, almost cyclical, pattern of evolution in SEA regulations for mini-grants. As noted, the 1978 Evaluation Report (Cunningham, et al., 1978) called for grants specifically targeted at "advisory committee improvement." The legislation establishing Educational Improvement Project grants broadened the focus to four areas and specified that:

> Pursuant to rules adopted by the State Board of Education, each district school board, or each principal through the district school board, may submit to the commissioner for approval a proposal for implementing an educational improvement project. Such proposals shall be developed with the assistance of district and school advisory committees and may address any or all of the following areas: school management improvement, district and school advisory committee improvement, school volunteers, and any other educational area which would be improved through a closer working relationship between school and community...

State Department of Education regulations for 1978-79 listed three topics for funding: advisory committee improvement, school volunteers and other areas. (Grants for "school management improvements" designed to promote experiments in school-based-management were set aside under a separate funding track.) More grants were awarded for school volunteers and "other educational areas" than for advisory committee improvement under this tri-partite classification.

Current 1979-80 State Department regulations (Information Digest on Education Improvement Project Grants, 1979:1) list two "Topics Acceptable" for project funding: "advisory committee improvement," or "other educational areas..." State School Board Rule No. 1297 states that for 1979-80, "school volunteer grants will be awarded to

TABLE 5I

BREAKDOWN OF GRANTS BY SUBSTANTIVE TOPIC FOCI

TYPE OF FOCI	SUBSTANTIVE TOPIC	NUMBER OF GRANTS
School Program: Basic Curriculum	Reading	12
	Writing	2
	Math	12
Multi-Cultural Education	Black Studies	1
	Bilingual	5
Ancillary Services	Health	8
	Alcohol Abuse	1
	Drug Abuse	1
	Sex Education	1
	Career Education, Placement and Guidance	3
Extra-Curricular	Arts (Audio, Visual and Tactile)	9
	Environmental Education	2
	Foreign Language	1
	Recreation	2
	Foreign Language	1
School Governance and Administration	General and Multi-Purpose	8
	School Law	2
	Budget and Finance	3
	Collective Bargaining	1
Special Education	General and Multi-Purpose	5
	Mentally Handicapped	2
	Physically Handicapped	1
	Speech Impairment	1
Other Miscellaneous	Early Childhood Development	5
	Day Care	1
	Discipline	3
	Library	1
	Testing	3
	Teachers' Home Visitation	1

districts on the basis of noncompetitive, matched funding formula and separate from Educational Improvement Projects." (Emphasis not in original.)

5.7.2 Recommendations of the 1980 Legislative Oversight Committee Report

The Legislative Report, issued in March 1980, was based on site visits and informal interviews with educators and citizens in ten districts. It constitutes the second interim assessment conducted by a legislative committee of the Florida legislature. A previous interim legislative assessment (Florida, 1974) presaged a more comprehensive statewide evaluation cited earlier (Cunningham, et al., 1978). The March 1980 document examined all aspects of the Florida Education and Finance Program. The focus here, however, is on those aspects of the evaluation that pertain to Advisory Councils.

Legislative staff visiting Florida school districts continued to find a mixed record of success with Advisory Councils. In particular, many of those interviewed continued to express misgivings about the effectiveness of Advisory Councils' involvement in producing and disseminating Annual School Reports. After reiterating Florida's long-standing commitment to flexibility and local discretion, "...any legislation...should be stated in terms of 'product' and not 'process';" the 1980 Staff Report proceeded to outline some possible "legislative responses" (Florida, 1980:81).

First, the Staff Report reiterated an early recommendation (e.g., Cunningham, et al , 1978) and suggested that the legislature may:

> Create a state-level Citizens' Advisory Committee with citizen membership similar to that of local advisory committees. The committee would serve to monitor the activities of school and district committees, coordinate the inservice activities...and provide information to local advisory committee members about relevant laws and activities of other citizen and advocacy groups interested in education, thereby providing a state-level focus for Citizen Advisory Committees.

Second, it called for more specificity and suggested that the legislature:

> Amend s. 229.58, F.S. [the mandate for councils] relating to district and school advisory committees to more

specifically enumerate the duties and responsibilities of these groups.

This would move Florida closer to California and South Carolina which have more specific legislative mandates (see Section 2.5, above). Further specificity on Councils' functions is also called for in the suggestion to:

> Require that the information now included in the annual report of school progress (s. 229.575(3), F.S.), including fiscal information, and student performance on state and district assessment tests, be published at least once annually in the local newspaper. Comparable information should be provided for each school in the district. This presentation should be reviewed prior to publication, by the district citizens advisory committee, if any and/or the individual school advisory committees; repeal section 229.575 (3), F.S.

Finally, the Staff Report suggested even further changes in Florida's mini-grant program. The State should:

> Earmark funds, such as percentage of the Educational Improvement Grant Program, to provide inservice for citizen advisory committee members in such areas as school funding, collective bargaining, school law, school-based management and the role of the Department of Education.

This suggestion goes beyond amendments in the regulations for Education Improvement Grants for fiscal year 1979-80. It not only proposes that funds be specifically set aside for Advisory Councils but also suggests that funding practices must ensure that Councils receive training in substantive, as well as group-process, issues and skills. There were no such "earmarking" requirements for project grant awards in either the 1978-79 or 1979-80 cycle of grants. Still, many of the projects funded in 1978-79 did have a substantive focus on school program and school governance/administration issues. This focus is revealed in Table 5I, above, which presents a final breakdown of the substantive foci identified in the Project Grant Synopsis for 1978-79.

SECTION SIX. CLARITY OF GOALS: EMERGENT CONSENSUS ON COUNCILS' FUNCTIONS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Section 3.4, above, had identified research suggesting that having clear goals is necessary for Advisory Councils' effectiveness. The discussion there had also suggested that given the advisory nature of most Councils, including those in South Carolina, Councils' goals are not autnomous and internally generated but are subject to two environmental forces: (i) Councils' formal and explicit mandate--it is, after all, the legislative mandate which creates such groups and defines their goals; and (ii) a negotiated consensus on roles and functions between a Council and those whom it advises.

This Section presents a secondary analysis of recent survey data from South Carolina which show emergent patterns of agreement, disagreement, and uncertainty on Councils' functions and, hence, on Councils' goals.

6.1 BACKGROUND: DATA BASE, METHOD

Data showing emergent patterns of agreement on Councils' functions in South Carolina is revealed in a statewide survey of 30 Superintendents, 60 School Board members, 60 Principals, and 180 Advisory Council members in a representative sample of 30 school districts across South Carolina. The survey, conducted in the Fall of 1979, is part of a study of South Carolina's Education Finance Act commissioned by the Senate Education Review Committee of the South Carolina General Assembly. A preliminary Report of that study was released in March 1980 (Sovde, 1980)*.

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* Prepared by Ms. Joy Sovde, consultant to the Senate Education Finance Review Committee of the South Carolina General Assembly.
Ms. Sovde is also, as noted in the "Preface," the South Carolina Site Coordinator of the Institute for Responsive Education's current Project. She is a member of the Executive Committee of the Citizens' Coalition for South Carolina Public Schools, one of the three statewide citizens' groups participating in this 3-state project. In her previous capacity as chairwoman of the Citizens' Coalition for South Carolina School Financing (the former name of the present Citizens' Coalition), Ms. Sovde was instrumental in a 3-year public information campaign which resulted in passage of South Carolina's Education Finance Act of 1977.

In each of the 30 school districts surveyed in Sovde's study (Sovde, 1980: 1):

> The superintendent...was asked to set up a meeting which would bring together at least two board members, two principals, six Council members (including two parents, two teachers, and two students) [and] himself...to discuss the Annual School Report and School Advisory Councils. A questionnaire was given out at the end of the discussion to all participants.

Part of the questionnaire cited above asked each respondent to choose which of the 21 potential functions for Councils was "appropriate." Respondents could choose more than one function or none at all. The 21 potential functions are listed in Table 6A on the next page. Responses to that set of putative Council functions in Sovde's 30 district survey constitute the primary data base for this Section.

At the time of this writing, Sovde's Preliminary Report contained: (i) a summary tally of responses--average percentage of "yes" answers for each of the 21 functions; (ii) a breakdown of responses, again by percentage of "yes" answers, by role-group--Councils, Principals, Superintendents, and School Boards; and (iii) a rank-ordering of the "appropriateness" of each of the 21 functions as perceived by the total sample. This rank-order was not assigned by survey respondents themselves. Rather, the rank-order value was extrapolated from the average percentage of "yes" responses for all four role-groups: the higher the average percentage of "yes" responses, the higher the rank assigned to that function. Following the same extrapolation procedure, the Institute for Responsive Education, in turn, used Sovde's breakdown of percentage "yes" answers for each role-group, and rank-ordered each function by each role-group based also on the percentage of "yes" answers within that role-group. The result of that additional extrapolation is presented in Table 6B, which summarizes survey responses by role-groups. Data on that Table allows for a preliminary comparison of inter-role-group agreements and disagreements on Councils' functions as identified in the 21 survey questions. A further analysis and clustering of the 21 survey questions can also provide comparisons between what particular role-groups perceive to be appropriate functions for Councils and Councils'

TABLE 6A

SURVEY QUESTIONS: 21 POSSIBLE FUNCTIONS FOR COUNCILS

RESPONDENTS WERE ASKED TO CHECK IF IT WAS APPROPRIATE FOR COUNCILS TO:
Approve content and recommendations of Annual Report
Serve as a communication link between school and community
Identify community concerns such as discipline, achievement level, drop-out rate, college preparatory programs, etc.
Identify community priorities for emphasis within existing curriculum, such as career awareness, environmental awareness, application of subject to life-skills, etc.
Identify community priorities for additions to curriculum (adding a new course or subject)
Participate in setting instructional priorities
Participate in determining level of [students'] achievement to be expected
Participate in determining where students' achievement is lower than it should be (subject, grade level, etc.)
Help determine causes of low achievement
Study test data and other information comparing this school to others in district or state
Participate in setting standards for pupil conduct and behavior
Approve local building rules and regulations concerning pupil conduct and privileges
Participate in in-service training in technical areas related to school management, in which the council will make recommendations
Help determine standards of behavior for professional staff (principals, teachers, etc.) in the school. (What example should be set before students.)
In hiring, specify characteristics expected of applicants, such as: approach to dealing with students, personal traits, philosophy of education, etc.
Recommend hiring policies to school boards
Participate in process of hiring new staff members
Review present local school board policies
Recommend changes in local school board policies
Recommend priorities for spending discretionary funds, i.e., any funds not earmarked for a particular purpose
Recommend expenditures within pupil classifications, e.g., number and type of personnel, equipment, and other

TABLE 6B

SUMMARY TALLY OF PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS OF 21 FUNCTIONS FOR COUNCILS

RANK	FUNCTIONS	SURVEY RESPONSES: PERCENT "YES" ANSWERS AND RANK ORDER BY ROLE GROUPS							
		Councils		Principals		Superintendents		Boards	
		%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R
1	Identify community priorities for addition to curriculum	46.5	1	44.8	2	55.1	2	14.7	5
2	Identify general community concerns	43.9	2	43.6	3	55.1	2	29.4	1
3	Identify community priorities for emphasis within curriculum	41.3	3	45.9	1	51.7	3	17.6	4
4	Recommend changes in School Board policies	37.0	6	43.6	3	37.9	6	29.4	1
5	Review present School Board Policies	40.5	4	43.6	3	37.9	6	23.5	2
6	Serve as communications link between school and community	37.9	5	42.5	4	51.7	3	17.6	4
7	Determine causes of low student achievement	43.9	2	35.6	6	48.2	4	14.7	5
8	Study test data comparing school to others	41.3	3	29.8	8	41.3	5	17.6	4
9	Recommend priorities for spending discretionary funds	34.4	8	36.7	5	48.2	4	20.5	3
10	Set standards for pupil conduct	36.3	7	29.8	9	58.6	1	23.5	2
11	Set instructional priorities	30.1	11	34.4	7	55.1	2	17.6	4

(continued on following page)

TABLE 6B (Cont'd.)

SUMMARY TALLY OF PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS OF 21 FUNCTIONS FOR COUNCILS

RANK	FUNCTIONS	SURVEY RESPONSES: PERCENT "YES" ANSWERS AND RANK ORDER BY ROLE GROUPS							
		Councils		Principals		Superintendents		Boards	
		%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R
12	Approve content of Annual Report	31.8	10	35.6	6	51.7	3	14.7	5
13	Determine where student achievement is lower than it should be	41.3	3	27.5	11	24.1	9	14.7	5
14	Determine level of achievement to be expected	33.6	9	31.0	8	41.3	5	14.7	5
15	Participate in in-service training in technical areas of school management	31.8	10	28.7	10	31.0	7	14.7	5
16	Approve building rules for pupil conduct	28.4	13	27.5	11	27.5	8	14.7	5
17	Determine standards of behavior for professional staff	28.4	13	27.5	11	24.1	9	11.7	6
18	Recommend expenditures within pupil classification	29.3	12	25.2	12	20.6	10	20.5	3
19	Specify characteristics expected of job applicants for professional school staff positions	20.6	15	19.5	14	20.6	10	14.7	5
20	Recommend hiring procedures to school boards	18.9	16	21.8	13	13.7	11	14.7	5
21	Participate in processes of hiring new staff	21.5	14	17.2	15	6.8	12	8.8	7

functions as prescribed and/or implied in the legislative mandate.

6.2 A REVIEW OF THE LEGISLATIVE MANDATE

Survey data on perceptions of what Councils should be doing provide information on how the legislative mandate is being understood and interpreted. The legislative mandate for Councils in South Carolina, like all legislation, can be interpreted, i.e., "constructed," strictly or broadly.

6.2.1 Strict Construction of the Mandate

(i) Explicitly Prescribed Functions. Section 6(3)b of the Education Finance Act specifically charges each Council to:

> ...assist in the preparation of the annual school report required in this section.

(ii) Explicitly Permitted Functions. The legislation goes on to allow such Councils to also:

> ...provide assistance as the Principal may request as well as carry out any other duties prescribed by the local school board.

The latter are permitted rather than mandatory functions and as such are up to local discretion provided that "...no Council shall have any of the powers and duties reserved by law or regulation to the local school board." Councils, then, are limited in their powers but not in their spheres of involvement. These spheres may conceivably be coterminous with the issues dealt with by School Boards and Principals whom Councils are permitted to assist and advise.

6.2.2 Broad Construction: Implicitly Mandated Functions

The warrant for a broader interpretation of Advisory Councils' mandate, which sanctions their involvement in school management--i.e., the personnel, discipline and budgetary functions implied in some of the 21 survey items listed in Table 6A--as well as school program issues, lies in the first, explicitly prescribed function: "...shall assist in the preparation of the annual report." In describing that Annual Report, the legislation does not specifically designate Principals as the sole, or even primary, authors of that Report. The legislation reads (Section 59-20-60, 1980 imprint as amended):

> Each school district board of trustees shall cause each school in the district to prepare an annual written report...(Emphasis not in original.)

The charge is to each school not necessarily to each Principal. Moreover, Councils are not only to "assist" in the preparation of the Report but they can also write their own Report. The legislation also charges:

> The local school board [to] make provisions to allow any Council to file a separate report to the local school board if the Council deems it necessary.

Hence, given this un-assigned responsibility for the Annual Report and given the earlier charge for Councils to "assist" in its preparation, it is possible to interpret Councils as having a whole set of implied advisory functions inherent in the nature of that Annual Report.

As described in the legislation, the Report "...shall include but not [be] limited to...

(a) ...depicting [each school's] program being offered in each pupil classification; and

(b) recommending needed programmatic improvements in each pupil classification for the ensuing years. This report shall:

- present an explicit statement of the needs of the student;
- define specific goals and objectives; and
- propose an identifiable strategy for priorities in the expenditure of funds to achieve stated objectives."

6.2.3 Summary: Expressed and Implied Functions for Councils

Consequently, with this legislative language in mind, it is conceivable that, given their mandated role in the Annual School Report, Councils in South Carolina can be involved in: (i) evaluating present school programs (i.e., "depicting school programs being offered"); (ii) identifying needed improvements; (iii) setting program goals and objectives; and (iv) advising on how money is to be spent. Furthermore, inherent in the permissive mandate to "assist principals" and "carry out any other duties assigned by local school boards" are a

number of possible advisory functions in school management and policymaking.

Table 6C, on the next page, depicts a clustering of the 21 potential functions for Councils as listed in Sovde's survey in terms of the five areas of involvement described above and implied in the legislative mandate for Councils.

6.3 GENERAL FINDINGS: PATTERNS OF AGREEMENT ON AREAS OF COUNCILS' INVOLVEMENT

The clustering in Table 5C identifies the issue areas--spheres of school decisionmaking--implied in each of the 21 potential functions for Councils. Table 6D, which immediately follows, reveals the degree of consensus on Councils' involvement in each of those issue areas by indicating the average percentage of "yes" responses and the rank-order, for the total sample, of the perceived appropriateness of each one of the 21 potential functions.

That data show that, first, there is not much importance attached to "approving" the content and recommendations of the Annual Report. On the other hand, the curriculum assessment and development functions necessary to prepare such annual reports were ranked highly. The following four functions-- "identifying general community concerns," "identifying community priorities for additions to curriculum," "identifying community priorities for emphasis within existing curriculum," and "reviewing" and "recommending changes in school board policies"--were ranked highly by every role-group.

There was also a consensus on the least appropriate functions for Councils. For all four role-groups, the following three functions--"specifying characteristics expected of job applicants," "participating in hiring," and "recommending hiring policies to the board"--were deemed least appropriate. There was support for Councils' involvement in district policymaking but uncertainty and ambivalence towards Councils' involvement in school management issues, not only in personnel, but also in budget-making and in student discipline issues.

Furthermore, as Table 6C also shows, the pattern of support for Councils' involvement in issue areas is not uniform. For example,

TABLE 6C

SURVEY QUESTIONS ON COUNCIL FUNCTIONS CLUSTERED BY LEGISLATIVE MANDATE AND ISSUE AREA

AUTHORIZATION	MANDATE	ISSUE AREA	COUNCIL FUNCTIONS
Explicitly Prescribed	Assist in Annual Report	- - -	Approve content of Annual Report
Implicitly Prescribed	Depict Program Offerings and State Student Needs	Curriculum Assessment	Determine level of student achievement to be expected. Determine where students' achievement is lower than it should be. Determine causes of low student achievement. Study test data and other information comparing school to others in district or state.
	Recommend Program Improvements and Set Goals	Curriculum Development	Identify community priorities for emphasis within existing curriculum. Identify community priorities for additions to curriculum. Set instructional priorities.
	Propose an Identifiable Strategy for Expenditure of Funds	Budget-making	Recommend expenditures within pupil classification. Recommend priorities for spending discretionary funds.
Explicitly Permitted	Assist Principals and Carry Out Any Other Duties Assigned by School Boards	Training in School Management	Participate in in-service training in technical areas related to school management.
		School-Community Relations	Serve as a communications link between school and community. Identify general community concerns.

TABLE 6C (Continued)

SURVEY QUESTIONS ON COUNCIL FUNCTIONS
CLUSTERED BY LEGISLATIVE MANDATE AND ISSUE AREA

AUTHORIZATION	MANDATE	ISSUE AREA	COUNCIL FUNCTIONS
Explicitly Permitted (Cont'd.)	Assist Principals and Carry Out Any Other Duties Assigned by School Boards (Cont'd.)	Policymaking	Review present school board policies. Recommend changes in school board policies.
		Personnel	Specify characteristics expected of job applicants. Determine standards of behavior for professional school staff. Participate in process of hiring new staff members. Recommend hiring policies and procedures to school board.
		Student Discipline	Set standards for pupil conduct. Approve building rules for pupil conduct.

TABLE 6D

SURVEY RESPONSES ON COUNCILS FUNCTIONS CLUSTERED BY ISSUE AREAS

ISSUE AREA	FUNCTION	PERCENTAGE	RANK
Curriculum Assignment	Determine level of student achievement to be expected.	31.7	14
	Determine where students' achievement is lower than it should be.	31.7	13
	Determine causes of low student achievement.	37.0	7
	Study test data and other information comparing school to others in district or state.	35.5	8
Curriculum Development	Identify community priorities for emphasis within existing curriculum.	41.1	3
	Identify community priorities for additions to curriculum.	42.6	1
	Set instructional priorities.	33.6	11
Budget-making	Recommend expenditures within pupil classification.	25.5	17
	Recommend priorities for spending discretionary funds.	35.2	9
Training in School Management	Participate in in-service training in technical areas related to school management.	30.2	15
School-Community Relations	Serve as a communications link between school and community.	38.9	6
	Identify general community concerns.	42.3	2
Policy-making	Review present school board policies.	39.8	5
	Recommend changes in school board policies.	40.0	4
Personnel	Specific characteristics expected of job applicants.	20.5	18
	Determine standards of behavior for professional school staff.	25.5	17
	Participate in process of hiring new staff members.	16.8	20
	Recommend hiring policies and procedures to school board.	19.3	19
Student Discipline	Set standards for pupil conduct.	34.8	10
	Approve building rules for pupil conduct.	27.4	16
- - -	Approve content and recommendations of Annual School Report.	33.3	12

"determining the causes of low student achievement" was ranked seventh but, "determining where student achievement is lower than it should be" and "determining the level of achievement to be expected" were ranked 13th and 14th, respectively. This suggests that within general issue areas, curriculum, for example, there is support for Councils' involvement in some "topics" but not in others. The term "topic" represents a further subdivision of issue areas. For example, within the issue area of "curriculum", the 21 survey questions elicit respondents' perceived appropriateness of Councils' involvement in not only identifying what the community perceives to be needed but also in determining objective standards of curriculum quality by studying patterns of student achievement. The next two sub-sections trace patterns of inter-role-group perceptions about which topics within the issue areas pertaining to school program and school management are appropriate for Councils' involvement.

6.4 COUNCILS' INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL PROGRAM ASSESSMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

The topics discussed here include Councils' involvement in those areas implied in the legislative mandate to "assist" in the preparation of the Annual Report: "depicting school program being offered," "recommending needed programmatic improvements," and "proposing an identifiable strategy for priorities in the expenditure of funds." Table 6E on the next page presents a summary breakdown of responses, for each role-group, on the appropriateness of Councils' involvement in school program assessment and development activities.

6.4.1 Depicting School Program Being Offered

The term "depicting" implies assessment and/or evaluation in that the Annual Report format calls for identification of school program "strengths" and "weaknesses." There are two logically distinct avenues for assessing a school's program: (i) canvassing community perceptions of that program, e.g., doing a "needs assessment"; and (ii) objectively assessing a program in terms of student achievement data.

TABLE 6E

SURVEY RESPONSES ON COUNCILS' INVOLVEMENT IN ANNUAL REPORT

FUNCTIONS	SURVEY RESPONSES: % OF YES ANSWERS AND RANK BY ROLE GROUP							
	Councils		Principals		Superintendents		Board Members	
	%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R
Approve content and recommendations of Annual Report	31.8	10	35.6	6	51.7	3	14.7	5
Determine where students' achievement is lower than it should be	41.3	3	27.5	11	24.1	9	14.7	5
Study test data	41.3	3	29.8	8	41.3	5	17.6	4
Help determine causes of low achievement	43.9	2	35.6	6	48.2	4	14.7	5
Determine level of student achievement to be expected	33.6	9	31.0	8	41.3	5	14.7	5
Identify common concerns: general	43.9	2	43.6	3	55.1	2	29.4	1
Identify community priorities for emphasis within existing curriculum	41.3	3	45.9	1	51.7	3	17.6	4
Identify community priorities for additions to curriculum	46.5	1	44.8	2	55.1	2	14.7	5
Setting instructional priorities	30.1	11	34.4	7	55.1	2	17.6	4
Recommending expenditure within pupil classification	29.3	12	25.2	12	20.6	10	20.5	3
Recommending priorities for spending discretionary funds	34.4	8	36.7	5	48.2	4	20.5	3

(i) Needs Assessment. "Identifying" community priorities for additions to and emphasis within existing school programs were consistently ranked as the most appropriate functions for Councils by all role-groups.

(ii) Student Achievement and Test Data. There is some ambivalence, however, and some differences among role-groups about the appropriateness of Councils' involvement in objective assessments of school programs based on student achievement data. Although "determining the causes of student achievement" and "studying test data" were ranked seventh and eighth, respectively, by the total sample (based on an average percentage of "yes" responses among all four role-groups), "determining level of achievement to be expected" and "determining where student achievement is lower than it should be" were ranked fourteenth and thirteenth, respectively.

While there is consensus on the appropriateness of Councils' involvement in determining the causes of low student achievement, as shown in Table 6E, following, Principals and Superintendents, however, disagreed with the "appropriateness" of Councils" involvement in "determining where students achievement is lower than it should be." The breakdown is as follows:

Role-Group	Percentage Yes	Rank
Councils	41.3	3
Principals	27.5	11
Superintendents	24.9	9

Principals, in contrast to both Councils and Superintendents, are not supportive of Councils' involvement in "studying test data comparing the schools to others."

Role-Group	Percentage Yes	Rank
Councils	41.3	3
Principals	29.8	8
Superintendents	41.3	5

On the other hand, Principals and Council Members are in agreement (as compared to Superintendents) on the relative inappropriateness of Councils' involvement in setting standards, i.e., "determining the level of student achievement to be expected."

Role-Group	Percentage Yes	Rank
Councils	33.6	9
Principals	31.0	8
Superintendents	41.3	5

6.4.2 Recommending Needed Programmatic Improvements

As noted in Section 6.3, above, there is consensus on Councils' involvement in some of the activities inherent in "recommending programmatic improvements." Canvassing community opinions about what aspects of the program need emphasis and strengthening was a function deemed most appropriate for Councils, but there is some ambivalence in Councils' use of student achievement data for purposes of curriculum planning and assessment. And, as shown, both Principals and Council members did not rate "setting achievement standards" as a very appropriate function for Councils. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is little support for Councils' participation in "setting instructional priorities." The total sample ranked that function eleventh. The breakdown by role-groups shows that, interestingly enough, administrators, especially Superintendents, deemed "setting instructional priorities" to be more appropriate than did Council members.

Role-Group	Percentage Yes	Rank
Councils	30.1	11
Principals	34.4	7
Superintendents	55.1	2

6.4.3 Proposing an Identifiable Strategy for Priorities in the Expenditure of Funds

There is an interesting and indicative split between the perceived appropriateness of two functions which involve Councils in budget-making. These two functions are:

- recommending expenditures within pupil classification
- recommending priorities for expenditure of discretionary funds

The former is most strongly implied in the legislative mandate inasmuch as the Annual School Report (prepared with the assistance of Councils) is to depict objectives for each pupil classification and is, in part,

a school's putative spending plan as well as its statement of goals and objectives. However, "recommending expenditures within pupil classification" was ranked 17th (in the bottom four) by the total sample, while "recommending priorities for the expenditure of discretionary funds" was ranked ninth. There was agreement on this difference, that is, all role-groups (with the exception of Board members) responded similarly in their relative assessment of the appropriateness of the two budgetmaking functions. However, as the following breakdowns suggest, there are some differences among role-groups as to the intensity of their assessment of appropriateness and inappropriateness of Councils' involvement in these two budget-making functions.

Should Councils Recommend Expenditures Within Pupil Classification?

Role-Group	Percentage Yes	Rank
Councils	29.3	12
Principals	25.2	12
Superintendents	20.6	10
Boards	20.5	3

Should Councils Recommend Priorities For Expenditure of Discretionary Funds?

Role-Group	Percentage Yes	Rank
Councils	34.4	8
Principals	36.7	5
Superintendents	48.2	4
Boards	20.5	3

6.4.4 Summary: An Emergent Agreement on "Advisory"

These breakdowns reveal some important patterns of agreement. Administrators and Board members and, to a lesser extent, Council members seem sensitive to an important distinction implied in the wording of the two budget-making functions. One function suggests that Councils actually recommend money amounts (i.e., "recommend expenditures..."); the other suggests setting goals for allocation of monies (i.e., "recommend priorities for..."). The first implies participation in implementing means, i.e., actually deciding where

money is spent; the second implies involvement in determining ends, setting goals rather than implementing means to achieve these goals. Within the same topic of involvement, i.e., budget-making, school officials, then, are more ready to support Councils' participation in setting goals than in implementing means. To the extent that this distinction is shared by Councils it shows that there is an emerging de facto division of decisionmaking labor between Councils and school staff: Councils are to advise ends; the means for implementing such ends remain the prerogative of school administrators. A consensus on this implicit division of labor is also revealed in the high degree of agreement on the appropriateness of Councils' functions in eliciting community perceptions about school programs and in the corresponding uncertainty and disagreement about Councils' roles in using test-data and other more technical measures of assessing school programs.

6.5 COUNCILS AND SCHOOL MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNANCE

A similar set of distinctions between the appropriateness of Councils' involvement in decisions about "ends" vs. decisions about "means" is even more strongly revealed in the pattern of survey responses on the appropriateness of Councils' potential involvement in school management and governance issues, e.g., district policymaking, personnel, and school discipline. A summary presentation of survey responses for each role-group on each of the functions associated with policymaking, personnel and school discipline is contained in Table 6F, on the following page. For now, however, the focus is on patterns of responses which further reveal an emergent consensus on the meaning of "advice" as it pertains to the role of "Advisory" Councils.

First, the cluster of functions depicted on Table 6F contain two functions--"reviewing board policies" and "recommending changes in board policies" which were among the top six ranked functions generally and for each role-group. And, that cluster also contains items--"recommending hiring policies," "specifying characteristics

TABLE 6F

SURVEY RESPONSES ON APPROPRIATENESS OF COUNCILS' INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL POLICYMAKING AND ADMINISTRATION

FUNCTIONS	SURVEY RESPONSES: PERCENTAGE "YES" ANSWERS RANK ORDER BY ROLE GROUP							
	Councils		Principals		Superintendents		Board Members	
	%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R
In-service training in technical areas in which council will advise.	31.8	10	28.7	10	31.0	7	14.7	5
Review present school board policies.	40.5	4	43.6	3	37.9	6	23.5	2
Recommend changes in board policies.	37.0	6	43.6	3	37.9	6	29.4	1
Specify characteristics expected of applicants for staff positions.	20.6	15	19.5	14	20.6	10	14.7	5
Help determine standards of behavior for professional staff.	28.4	13	27.5	11	24.1	9	11.7	6
Recommend hiring policies and procedures to school boards.	18.9	16	21.8	13	13.7	11	14.7	5
Participate in process of hiring new staff members.	21.5	14	17.2	15	6.8	12	8.8	7
Set standards for pupil conduct and behavior.	36.3	7	29.8	9	58.6	1	23.5	2
Approve local building rules and regulations concerning pupil conduct and privilege.	28.4	13	27.5	11	27.5	8	14.7	5

expected of job applicants," and "participating in processes of hiring new staff,"--which were deemed least appropriate by the total sample and each role-group. This suggests, in light of the distinctions identified in Section 6.4.4, above, that there is support for Councils' involvement in general policymaking, i.e., traditionally reserved to lay School Boards, but little support for Councils' advice in administrative decisions.

6.5.1 Reviewing District Policies

This further distinction between policymaking (deciding about "ends") and administration (deciding about "means") is evident in the following breakdown of responses to items which imply different kinds of relationships between Councils and School Boards.

Should Councils Participate In Reviewing School Board Policies?

Role-Group	Percentage Yes	Rank
Councils	40.5	4
Principals	43.6	3
Superintendents	37.9	6
Boards	23.5	2

Should Councils Recommend Changes In School Board Policies?

Councils	37.0	6
Principals	43.6	3
Superintendents	37.9	6
Boards	29.4	1

And, Should Councils Recommend Hiring Policies And Procedures To School Boards?

Councils	18.9	16
Principals	21.8	13
Superintendents	13.7	11
Boards	14.7	5

The important point to note is that the more specific the action implied in each of these potential functions, the lower the degree of support.

6.5.2 School Personnel Issues

The same pattern, i.e., more support for general, policy-oriented

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involvement and less support for more specific involvement in management decisions, is indicated by the breakdown for the four functions dealing with personnel issues.

Should Councils Participate In Setting Standards For Behavior Of Professional Staff?

Role-Group	Percentage Yes	Rank
Councils	28.4	13
Principals	27.5	11
Superintendents	24.1	9
Boards	11.7	6

Should Councils Recommend Hiring Policies And Procedures To School Boards?

Councils	18.9	16
Principals	21.8	13
Superintendents	13.7	11
Boards	14.7	5

Should Councils Participate In Specifying Characteristics Expected Of Job Applicants For Professional School Staff Positions?

Councils	20.6	15
Principals	19.5	14
Superintendents	20.6	10
Boards	14.7	5

Should Councils Participate In The Process Of Hiring New Staff Members?

Councils	21.5	14
Principals	17.2	15
Superintendents	6.8	12
Boards	8.8	7

Note: The general pattern among school officials--administrators and board members--is more support for Councils' involvement in setting standards and recommending general personnel procedures (both being policymaking functions) and less support for Councils' involvement in administrative functions such as screening and hiring new staff. Council members, however, seem slightly more interested in actually participating in hiring decisions than they are in recommending hiring policies or setting personnel standards.

6.5.3 Student Discipline

There is evidence of a consensus, however, in the pattern of responses on the appropriateness of Councils' involvement in school discipline matters. Two items focused on school discipline: should Councils participate in "setting standards for pupil conduct and behavior": and, should Councils "approve local building rules concerning pupil conduct and privilege." The former was ranked 10th by the total sample; the latter was ranked 16th. Much of this difference is attributable to a distinction made by Superintendents especially, and to a lesser extent by Board members, between setting standards (once again, a goal-setting, policymaking function) and approving already promulgated administrative rules, i.e., "approving local building rules and regulations concerning pupil conduct..." The breakdown by role-group on these two school discipline items is as follows:

Should Councils Set Standards For Pupil Conduct And Behavior?

Role-Group	Percentage Yes	Rank
Councils	36.3	7
Principals	29.8	9
Superintendents	58.6	1
Boards	23.5	2

Should Councils Approve Local Building Rules And Regulations Concerning Pupil Conduct And Privilege?

Councils	28.4	13
Principals	27.5	11
Superintendents	27.5	8
Boards	14.7	5

6.6 SUMMARY: UNDERLYING PATTERNS OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT ON COUNCILS' FUNCTIONS

Patterns of responses to the two survey items dealing with school discipline suggest that respondents, especially Superintendents and Board members, are making yet another distinction between degrees of Councils' involvement in the same topic. There is more support for Councils' role in setting standards for pupil conduct and less support

for Councils' involvement in approving local building rules and regulations for pupil conduct.

The difference in wording, i.e., "setting" versus "approving," connotes differences in roles for Councils. In the latter case, there is an implied accountability, a monitoring and review role for Councils. In the case of "setting," however, the connotation is one of providing advice on general policy and not in reviewing and approving already developed policies. This lack of support for "review and approve" kinds of functions may explain the apparent anomaly that, although the legislation explicitly charges Councils' participation in preparing the Annual School Report, the function of "approving the content and recommendations of the Annual School Report" was ranked twelfth in terms of perceived 'appropriateness' by the total sample.

It is clear, then, that many respondents are making two kinds of distinctions. The first set of distinctions is between Councils' involvement in different issue areas. There is more support for Councils' involvement in public relations, general school policy, and in school curriculum issues and less support for Councils' involvement in administrative issues such as personnel and student discipline. Within those issue areas respondents are making additional distinctions: (i) between advising in policy--setting goals--and advising in administration--implementing means to achieve goals --; and (ii) between an advising and monitoring, or reviewing, role for Councils. There is, as noted in Sections 6.4 and 6.5 above, less support for Councils assuming advisory functions in administrative processes and also less support for Councils' assumption of accountability, i.e., review and approval, functions.

Implicit in the latter two kinds of distinctions--policy vs. administration and advising vs. reviewing and approving--is an emergent pattern of agreement on appropriate roles for Councils. Different roles are implied in the 21 survey question items about Councils' functions. First, there is a set of functions which suggests a service role for Councils. These service functions include activities undertaken by Councils which may not otherwise be

capable of being undertaken by schools with limited resources. Such activities are represented by Councils involvement in canvassing community opinions, e.g., "identifying general community concerns," "identifying community priorities for additions to existing curriculum," etc. Another cluster of functions implies Councils acting as advisories for setting general policies, e.g., "recommending changes in school board policies," or "participating in setting standards for pupil conduct and behavior." A third cluster of functions implies an advisory role in administrative processes (i.e., the implementation of means as opposed to the determination of ends). This includes such activities as "recommending expenditures within pupil classifications" or "helping to determine the cause of low [student] achievement." In this latter set of functions Councils are actually involved in administrative and pedagogical processes which implement local education policies. Finally, as noted above, some of the functions identified in the survey question items imply an accountability role for Councils, e.g., "approving local building rules and regulations concerning pupil conduct," or "approving the content and recommendations of the annual report." In this latter set of activities, the wording suggests that Councils are in a position of reviewing already accomplished policies and administrative processes. The four types of roles Councils play can be explicated by comparing different possible functions for Councils within one issue area such as, for example, budget and finance.

Type of Role	Possible Function*
Service	Identify community priorities for expenditures for new and existing school programs.
Advice in Policy	Help to determine priorities for spending discretionary funds, i.e., funds not already earmarked for expenditure in fixed costs.

* Items on the list of functions in some cases parallel or paraphrase the functions as listed in Sovde's survey. However, the "service" and "accountability" functions as depicted above are not from that survey and are listed here for illustrative purposes only.

Type of Role (cont'd.)	Possible Function (cont'd.)
Advice in Administration	Recommend expenditures within pupil classification.
Accountability	Approve content of spending plans as contained in the Annual School Report.

Table 6G, on the next page, clusters 20 possible functions for Councils, in terms of the four implied roles for Councils as defined and explicated immediately above. That Table also gives the rank order values for each function based on the average percentage of "yes" answers for each function. The subtotals in each of the four columns which cluster the 20 functions by the four implied roles--service, advice in policy, advice in administration, and accountability--represent average rankings and average percentage of "yes" responses for the entire cluster of functions. These arithmetical averages--average of percent "yes" answered and average rankings--show that there is the most support and consensus on Councils' involvement in service roles, and the least support for Councils' giving advice in administrative processes. The breakdown for the four types of Councils' roles is as follows:

Type of Role	Average Percent	Average Rank
Service	41.2	3
Advice in Policy	34.5	10
Accountability	31.9	12.25
Advice in Administration	21.8	16.20

Also indicative of this emphasis on service roles for Councils is the fact that out of the top five ranked functions for the total sample, four imply a service role for Councils. The top five ranked functions are (in rank order):

(i) Identify community priorities for additions to existing curriculum

(ii) Identify general community concerns

(iii) Identify community priorities for emphasis within existing curriculum

(iv) Recommend changes in School Board policies

(v) Review School Board policies

TABLE 6G

SUMMARY TABLE OF 20 COUNCILS' FUNCTIONS BY IMPLIED ROLE OF COUNCIL

SERVICE FUNCTION	%	R	ADVICE IN POLICY	%	R	ADVICE IN ADMINISTRATION	%	R	ACCOUNTABILITY	%	R
Identify community priorities for addition to curriculum.	42.6	1	Recommend changes in School Board policies.	39.8	5	Determine cause of low student achievement.	37.0	7	Study test data.	35.5	8
Identify general community concerns.	42.3	2	Review School Board policies.	40.0	4	Recommend expenditures within pupil classification.	25.5	17	Approve content and recommendations of Annual Report.	33.3	12
Identify community priorities for emphasis within curriculum.	41.1	3	Recommend priorities for spending discretionary funds.	35.2	9	Specify characteristics expected of job applicants.	20.5	18	Determine where students' achievement is lower than it should be.	31.7	13
School-community communications link.	38.9	6	Set standards for pupil conduct.	34.8	10	Recommend hiring policies to School Board.	19.3	19	Approve local building rules and regulations for pupil conduct.	27.4	16
			Set instructional priorities.	33.6	11	Participate in process of hiring new staff.	16.8	20			
			Determine level of student achievement to be expected.	31.1	14						
			Determine standards of behavior for school professional staff.	25.5	17						
AVERAGE PERCENT	41.2		AVERAGE PERCENT	34.5		AVERAGE PERCENT	21.8		AVERAGE PERCENT	31.9	
AVERAGE RANK	3		AVERAGE RANK	10.0		AVERAGE RANK	16.2		AVERAGE RANK	12.25	

Functions (i) - (iii) imply service activities for Councils.

Not surprisingly, the bottom four ranked functions, i.e., those deemed least appropriate by the total sample, imply an advisory role in administrative processes:

(i) Participate in processes of hiring new staff

(ii) Recommend hiring procedures to School Boards

(iii) Specify characteristics expected of job applicants for professional school staff positions

(iv) Recommend expenditures within pupil classifications

6.7 CONCLUSIONS: REMAINING AREAS FOR CONSENSUS-BUILDING

The underlying patterns of agreement depicted in Section 6.6 are consensual, that is, all role-groups see Councils' involvement in policymaking and service activities as more appropriate than Councils' involvement in administrative and accountability functions. Within this emergent consensus on the role of Councils, however, there remain some important differences.

6.7.1 Councils and School Boards

The data show that, among all role-groups, School Boards are most uncertain about what (if anything) Councils should be doing. This uncertainty is indicated by the strikingly low percentages of "yes" responses among the sample of School Boards. For example, the top-ranked function for Board members received only 29.4 percent of positive responses. A large majority of Board members, then, simply did not find any of the 21 possible functions to be appropriate. Among those Board members who did respond, however, there is evidence of a desire for Council involvement in key functions pertaining to school district policymaking. The top three ranked functions for School Board members are (in rank order):

Function	Rank
Identify general community concerns	1
Recommend changes in Board policies	1
Review present Board policies	2
Set standards for pupil conduct	2

Function (cont'd.)	Rank (cont'd.)
Recommend priorities for spending discretionary funds	3
Recommend expenditures for pupil classification	3

Only School Board members set such a high relative priority on Councils' involvement in budget issues.

6.7.2 Councils and Superintendents

The data also shows that of all the role-groups, Superintendents were most certain and clear about what they thought Councils should or should not be doing. This clarity is indicated by a wide spread in the percentages of "yes" answers for Superintendents. This spread ranged from a high of 58.6 percent for Councils' involvement in "setting standards for pupil conduct" to a low of 6.8 percent for Councils' involvement in "processes of hiring new staff." Moreover, on some functions, Superintendents showed more support for Councils' involvement than any other role-group, including Councils. This can be seen by comparing the top five ranked functions on the part of Superintendents with Council members corresponding rankings for those same functions.

Rank	Function	Superintendents Percent	Councils %	Councils R
1	Set standards for pupil conduct	58.6	36.3	7
2	Identify community priorities for emphasis within curriculum	55.1	41.3	3
2	Identify general community concerns	55.1	43.9	2
2	Set instructional priorities	55.1	30.1	11
3	Serve as a communications link between school and community	51.7	37.9	5
3	Approve content of Annual Report	51.7	31.8	8
4	Determine causes of low student achievement	48.2	43.9	2
4	Recommend priorities for spending discretionary funds	48.2	34.4	8
5	Determine level of achievement to be expected	41.3	33.6	9

The underlined functions are those in which there is disagreement between Superintendents and Councils. In all but one of the cases,

Superintendents were more supportive of Councils' involvement, especially in substantive issues such as discipline, school budget, and student achievement, than were Council members.

6.7.3 Councils and Principals

Interestingly enough, while Superintendents were more supportive than Council members themselves for Councils' involvement in school discipline and school achievement issues, Principals were much less supportive. Table 6H, on the next page, compares Council members' and Principals' responses to all 21 of the Council functions listed in the survey questionnaire. It shows that, first, on most items Councils desired more involvement (as indicated by a higher percentage of "yes" responses) than did Principals. Second, on five items there is a split of five percentage points or more between Councils and Principals. These controversial items (presented in order of controversy) are as follows:

Function	Councils		Principals	
	%	R	%	R
Determine where student achievement is lower than it should be	41.3	3	27.5	11
Study test data comparing school to others	41.3	3	29.8	8
Determine causes of low student achievement	43.9	2	35.6	6
Set standards for pupil conduct	36.3	7	29.8	9
Serve as communications link between school and community	37.9	5	42.5	4

The most controversial items are those pertaining to student achievement and test data. A lack of consensus, especially between Councils and Principals, on those items is significant. Dealing with student achievement is inherent in Councils' mandated function to "assist in the preparation of the Annual Report." Lack of support, on the part of Principals, for Councils' efforts to use student achievement data in helping to provide an objective "depict[ion of] program offerings--strengths and weaknesses" raises questions about

TABLE 6H

COMPARISON OF COUNCILS' AND PRINCIPALS' PERCEPTIONS OF APPROPRIATE FUNCTIONS FOR COUNCILS

FUNCTIONS: UNDERLINED ITEMS REPRESENT AREAS WHERE THERE IS LACK OF AGREEMENT	SURVEY RESPONSES			
	Councils		Principals	
	%	R	%	R
Identify community priorities for emphasis within curriculum	41.3	3	45.9	1
Identify general community concerns.	43.9	2	43.6	3
Identify community priorities for addition to curriculum	46.5	1	44.8	2
Review present School Board policies	40.5	4	43.6	3
Serve as communications link between school and community	37.9	5	42.5	4
Recommend changes in School Board policies	37.0	6	43.6	3
Determine causes of low student achievement	43.9	2	35.6	6
Study test data comparing school to others	41.3	3	29.8	8
Recommend priorities for spending discretionary funds	34.4	8	36.7	5
Set standards for pupil conduct	36.3	7	29.8	9
Set instructional priorities	30.1	11	34.4	7
Approve content of Annual Report	31.8	10	35.6	6
Determine where student achievement is lower than it should be	41.3	3	27.5	11
Determine level of achievement to be expected	33.6	9	31.0	8
Participate in in-service training in technical areas of school management	31.8	10	28.7	10
Approve building rules for pupil conduct	28.4	13	27.5	11
Determine standards of behavior for professional staff	28.4	13	27.5	11
Recommend expenditures within pupil classification	29.3	12	25.2	12
Specify characteristics expected of job applicants for professional school staff positions	20.6	15	19.5	14
Recommend hiring procedures to school boards	18.9	16	21.8	13
Participate in processes of hiring new staff	21.5	14	17.2	15

what it is, other than conducting community needs-assessments, that Councils can contribute to the production of the Annual Report. Principals' relative lack of enthusiasm for lay involvement in student achievement and testing issues is, however, understandable in terms of the organizational characteristics of schools.

Section 3.3.1, above, had outlined a systems model of schools as complex formal organizations. Student achievement, as indicated by test scores, is one tangible and measurable "product" of schools. However, given the state-of-the-art in teaching, the complexity of dealing with human raw material (i.e., with children subject to environmental pressures not under the control of schools), and, finally, given the un-bureaucratic nature of schools with their weak chains of command, Principals have a limited sense of control over a school's "product" as measured by student achievement data. Lack of a sense of control translates into insecurity, and insecurity, in turn, leads to a resistance to lay-citizen involvement in such sensitive issues as test-scores. This resistence manifests itself in low levels of support for Councils' involvement in "determining where student achievement is lower than it should be" (emphasis not in original) and "studying test data comparing the school to others in the district or in the State."

While such an insecurity and resistance is understandable and indeed predictable, it may be misguided. It is based on the assumption, made plausible by recurring publicity about 'declining test scores', that parents and citizens are looking for scapegoats for low student achievement. Public opinion poll data in South Carolina, at least, suggest otherwise. A telephone survey of a stratified random sample of 500 persons conducted in three counties in and around Charleston, South Carolina, in February 1980, found that while "public education got mediocre grades for teaching essential skills and terrible grades for maintaining discipline," most "respondents were willing to spend more tax dollars to improve public education" and they "rejected cuts in all categories of public education spending" (Trident 2000, 1980: 5)*.

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* See next page.

Moreover, public dissatisfaction with education outcomes did not translate into a wholesale indictment of educators. One item in the Trident 2000 poll asked "What person or group do you hold most responsible for assuring that we have good public schools?" The most frequently offered response was "parents" (28 percent responded this way). Another 25 percent assigned primary responsibility to politicians--State legislators or school board members. Twenty-five percent identified educators--teachers and administrators--as having the primary responsibility.

This suggests that the public does not see itself as either a passive consumer or a watchdog of schools but, rather, that schooling is a shared responsibility. Parents, it seems, are willing to share in the burden and blame for educational problems. Willingness to share burdens is a precondition for sharing decisionmaking.

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* Trident 2000 is a private, voluntary civic action, community development organization based in Charleston, South Carolina. It is also a constituent member of the statewide Citizens Coalition for South Carolina Public Schools which acts as the site organization for the Institute for Responsive Education's continuing Interstate School Councils project upon which this present Report is based.

SECTION SEVEN. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: CONTINUED LEADERSHIP INTO THE 1980's

In the decade of the 1980's other States are likely to join California, Florida and South Carolina in seeking more effective ways to foster school improvement and citizen participation. It is also likely that the three States reported in this book will attempt to extend and refine their pioneering initiatives.

This assumption about continued leadership from State governments is based on the authors' reading of the political climate and on the well-documented and widespread assertion by the States of their constitutional responsibilities for the public schools. That reassertion has typified the decade of the 1970's and has led to, among other initiatives, the three State policies upon which this Report has been focused.

Therefore, the thoughts expressed in this concluding section of the Report are offered to all interested State policymakers as well as to all those publics such as voluntary citizen organizations and education interest groups concerned about State policies in education.

7.1 BACKGROUND

In responding to this section readers should keep several limitations in mind. What are offered are inductively based thoughts, practical maxims and conclusions. As noted in Section Three, the research literature on School Councils is not in agreement as to what counts as an effective council. Therefore, there are no hard and fast, universally applicable rules for success.

Hard and fast rules for success are not only unavailable, but even if they were, they would be inappropriate. There is an old folksaying: "There are many roads to heaven." That saying captures an important truth and one that is recognized by this Report. A democratic polity is constituted by a plurality of values. The authors respect that pluralism; hence, the suggestions are contingent: if policymakers want to do X, then, based on the

evidence presented in this Report, they might consider doing Y and Z.

The remarks herein are limited to those that can be substantiated by or inferred from the evidence presented. Henxe, the focus of this section is on State policies and not on local practices or on local impacts of such policies and practices.

The conclusions are also tempered by reality. In addressing this Report and its conclusions to those in a position to make or influence State policies, the authors are mindful of the institutional political and practical constraints on policymaking. Institutionally, State legislatures and education agencies have an impressive but not unlimited arsenal of intervention tools. These tools include:

- Legislation changing the nature of school governance, such as establishing school site management.
- Legislation adding new structures (such as mandated Advisory Councils) to existing arrangements for school governance.
- Regulations which implement new legislative initiatives or else infuse new meaning into existing laws (such as State certification requirements for administrators which include the ability to work collaboratively with mandated citizen organizations as an area of certified competency).
- Fiscal incentives either by allocation of new monies, as in the Florida mini-grant program, or by redesign of general State aid formulas in order to reward desirable new practices among LEA's.
- Training--for both pay people and school staff--in order to increase the knowledge base necessary for assuming new roles required by citizen participation mandates.
- Public information--formal and symbolic re-affirmation and/or clarification of the State intent behind the kind of legislative, regulatory and fiscal practices enumerated above.
- Evaluation--assessment criteria and assessment practices which redirect LEA behavior into areas desired by the intent of State policies.

The use of such intervention tools is tempered by political realities. The times are not hospitable to major legislative initiatives restructuring school governance. The public mood is not supportive of major new categories of expenditures. Hence, the suggestions proposed are incremental: What can the three States consider in order to strengthen the foundations laid in the

existing mandates? How can other States benefit from that experience?

Also, there are realities which exist apart from any temporary shifts in political climate. One is the organizational reality of schools as presented in the system models of schools as complex formal organizations. (See Section 3.3.1.) This reality is a given in the absence of legislative initiatives which alter the structure of school governance and, hence, change the premises (i.e., the individual calculation of self-interest) of individuals' behavior within schools. The other reality is that it is not possible to legislate intentions, motivations, and attitude changes. It is a basic assumption of the authors that, for purposes of policy-analysis and policy-making, people act out of rational self-interest. This self-interest can be broadly defined to encompass an interest in others (parents for their children), or an interest in non-material values (status, or the desire to accomplish social justice or equity). But the main point is that, in the absence of any omniscient knowledge of what people want, policymakers have to assume, like the authors of the Federalist Papers, that individuals are self-interested. They are forced to infer those interests from individuals' membership in particular roles, such as teacher, parent, non-parent, taxpayer, administrator, school board member. Two important corollaries follow from these assumptions about organizational and individual behavior. Policymakers can change structures but they cannot change people. Any policy which is predicated upon major changes in attitudes, beliefs and motivations is doomed to failure and will breed frustration among the intended beneficiaries of policy intervention.

The material which follows is organized in three parts: what policies do work, what policies don't work, and what policies might work to effect citizen participation in school improvement via Councils.*

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*The reader is reminded that the analysis and recommendations which follow apply only to government-mandated School Councils and not to voluntary citizen initiated organizations. These voluntary interest groups can play a vital role in representing the views of diverse community interests and in influencing school policies through a wide range of strategies of the citizens' own choosing, ranging from research and information to confrontation and protest. Each category of organization--mandated and citizen-initiated--has distinct strengths

7.2 WHAT "WORKS"

The term "works" in this context means those policies and strategies developed in one of the three States which can be replicated by other States because the strategy or policy in question addresses a generic, functional need which is applicable to the implementation of a variety of State mandates.

Both common sense and research (Yin, et al., 1973; Stanton and Zerchykov, 1979) indicate that resources are necessary for Councils. Operating resources --staff, materials--cost money. Additional expenditures of public monies merely for council maintenance, as opposed to improvements in schools' basic instructional program, are not apt to be forthcoming given present taxpayer sentiment. Research also demonstrates, however, that Councils' networking relationships, defined as in-kind resource sharing and exchanges between School Councils and other community organizations (McDonnell and Zellman), provide them with a functional equivalent of the possession of material resources. The rational self-interest assumption, and the exchange model which can be derived from that assumption, suggest that such networking will only occur if Councils have some commodity to exchange with other groups. Florida's Education Improvement Projects Grants (EIP) program discussed in Section Five provides Councils with precisely such a commodity. Councils can be the direct recipients of State grants. Perhaps even more importantly, community organizations can apply for and receive EIP grants. But, they can apply only in conjunction with a School Council. Such a requirement for joint sponsorship provides Councils with an exchangeable commodity--either directly in the form of a grant, or indirectly in their (the Councils') sign-off authority on all EIP grant applications. Florida's program, therefore, represents a model whereby a relatively modest expenditure of public monies may have an amplifier effect in promoting networking between Councils and other community groups.

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and limitations in relation to different functions of citizen participation. The focus in this Report to policymakers is on mandated groups, which, unlike voluntary organizations, are created by and subject to government policy intervention.

Research and common sense also suggest that "you get what you evaluate" (Joyce, 1978). Organizations and individuals redirect their behavior towards the values and practices upon which they are to be judged. Assuming rational self-interest, the criteria of evaluation are a much more potent signal and directive than mere enunciations of legislative and/or regulatory intent. Evaluation can have this behavior modifying effect if:

- It is systematic and ongoing;
- It operates with widely publicized and understood criteria;
- It is conducted by a public authority rather than a private interest group or consulting firm (otherwise the evaluator may not have legitimacy with public institutions such as schools);
- It does not merely focus on compliance with the letter of the law or on output measures (e.g., test scores) whose causal relationship with the practices being evaluated (e.g., implementation of a School Advisory Council) is tenuous and untestable;*
- It focuses on independent variable measures which represent behavior under the conscious control of those whose practices are being evaluated.

As shown in Section Four, California's Program Review Model embodies all of these features. Although the authors of this Report do not have impact data showing that the Program Reviews do, in fact, effect local behavior, there is evidence that School Site Councils across that State are using the Program Review criteria for their own self-assessment. The California model has other benefits. Many of the criteria are generic and are applicable to Councils as such. The criteria used in evaluation, since they emanate from the SEA, amount to a clarification of the State's intent with respect to the mandated Councils' structure and function. As seen in the South Carolina survey data, the lack of such a de-facto clarification can be debilitating for Council members and for school administrators.

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* An untestable relationship between an outcome and practice is at one level a methodological problem. At another level, it represents a practical problem. Inability to impute cause and effect leads to an inability to assign responsibility.

The South Carolina Annual School Report, required under the Education Finance Act of 1977, represents a vehicle which, like California's Program Review, is replicable for broadening the base of school decisionmaking to include citizens. The mandate that Councils participate in the preparation of that Annual Report and may, if they deem necessary, file a separate Annual Report, means that citizen involvement on Councils in South Carolina goes to the heart of schools' instructional programs. The nature of the Annual Report all but insures that, wherever the mandate is implemented in good faith, citizen involvement is not limited to peripheral issues or public relations busywork.

The Annual Report serves many purposes. This can be seen by reviewing its components as spelled out in the legislation. The Annual Report shall (at the very least) include:

(a) [a depiction of each school's] program being offered...

(b) [recommendations for] needed programmatic improvements [by]

- [presenting] an explicit statement of students' needs
- [defining] specific goals and objectives, and
- [proposing] an identifiable strategy for priorities in the expenditure of funds to achieve stated objectives.

Therefore, the Annual Report includes but is not limited to the presentation of a school's progress in meeting educational goals. It represents a planning and goal-setting instrument and requires that the goals be translated into specific, time-bound instructional objectives. Moreover, the instructional objectives are not to be a mere wish-list but are tied to existing and anticipated resources necessary for accomplishing those objectives. And, consequently, it requires that all who participate in the preparation of that Annual Report face tough choices about priorities in expenditures. Finally, the Annual Report is not just a symbolic document enunciating a school's goals. It is a planning and management document. Each Building Report goes to the district level where it is aggregated, reconciled, and synthesized with other Building Reports into a District Report and plan for the next school year. In short, South Carolina's Annual Report represents a formal mechanism whereby parents at the school building level can, via their membership on, or access to, the School Council, participate in district policymaking.

7.3 WHAT DOES NOT WORK

Policymaking, like teaching, is an art and not a science. Science advances by controlled experimentation and deductive theorizing; art advances by trial and error and inductive inferences. The following discussion of what doesn't work is based on trial and error experiences in the three States and is offered as a set of inductive inferences, practical maxims and caveats, and not as blanket assessments. The intent is to provide policymakers in the States with a more realistic assessment of what can and cannot be accomplished via mandates for School Councils.

7.3.1 Relying on Maximum Local Discretion Does Not Work

A reliance on local discretion to accomplish policy objectives which require a change in local practices does not work. It is tempting to assume that since a mandate for Councils is intended to open up decisionmaking at the local level, the mandate should offer maximum flexibility. Florida's experience, especially, indicates that this does not work when the mandate in question requires the assumption of new and unfamiliar roles on the part of local practitioners. Readers of Section Two will have noticed that Florida's mandate for Councils has undergone several amendments since its intitial promulgation in 1973. The general pattern of subsequent amendments has been towards more specificity (see Table 7A on the next page). Greater specificity has been the legislative and regulatory response to the evaluation data on the local implementation of Florida's mandate for Councils. That evaluation data confirms the aphorism, well known in management and organization theory, that "mininum requirements become maximum performances."

For example: Florida's 1973 mandate allowed for local discretion as to whether to set up a district level Advisory Council, school site Advisory Council, or both. A 1974 survey by the staff of the Florida Senate Education Committee (Florida, 1974) found that 29 LEA's opted for school site Councils, while 38 opted for districtwide committees. Florida's legislation, while it enjoins that all Advisory Councils be broadly representative, does not specify modes of membership selection. The 1974 survey found that a predominant majority of Council members gained their seats by appointment. Only 15 percent were elected to their positions on the Council. A 1977

TABLE 7A

EVOLUTION OF FLORIDA'S MANDATE FOR COUNCILS

	1973 LEGISLATION	1976 PROVISIONS	1978 PROVISIONS
Instructions to LEA's	...school board shall establish a school advisory committee or committees.	If the school board does not establish advisory committees at each school it shall establish a district advisory committee.	Same
		The district school board may establish, in addition to the committees at each school, a district advisory committee which may be comprised of representatives from each school or such other members as the district school board may prescribe.	Same
Waiver Provision	None	None	Recognized schoolwide support groups which meet all criteria established by rule or law may function as district and school advisory committees.
Membership	...shall include parents and students and be broadly representative of the community served by the school.	...composed of teachers, students, parents and other citizens.	Same.
Functions	Participate in preparation of Annual Reports of School Progress.	...shall assist in the preparation of the Annual Report...and provide assistance as the principal may request in preparing the school's annual budget and plan.	Same

TABLE 7A

EVOLUTION OF FLORIDA'S MANDATE FOR COUNCILS (Cont'd.)

	1973 LEGISLATION	1976 PROVISIONS	1978 PROVISIONS
Evaluation by LEA's	Each board shall make an annual evaluation of the effectiveness of each committee established and shall submit its plan and a report of the annual evaluation to the State Department of Education.	None	None
Evaluation by SEA	The department shall review the reports of annual evaluations to provide to the State Board of Education and legislature an annual appraisal as to the effectiveness of school advisory committees.	None	None
Financial Support	None	None	Pursuant to rules adopted by the State Board of Education, each district school board or each principal through the district school board may submit to the commissioner for approval a proposal for implementing an educational improvement project. Such proposals shall be developed with the assistance of district and school advisory committees and may address any or all of the following areas: ...district and school advisory committee improvement....

evaluation survey (Cunningham, et al., 1978) found a shift towards more building level advisory committees and an increase in the proportion of Council members who gained their seats by election rather than appointment --1977 data show 56 percent (as opposed to 85 percent) of Council members to be appointed. In both cases, the shifts in local practices may be attributed, at least in part, to passage of Florida's 1976 Accountability Act which reaffirmed symbolically the importance of representative Advisory Councils and the notion that the school building is a basic unit of accountability.

There may, of course, be locally compelling reasons for appointment rather than election of Council members, or for having district-level rather than school site Councils. But the overwhelming preference (as recorded in the 1974 and 1977 evaluation data) for the easier and less cumbersome practices of establishing one district level advisory committee rather than many school site Councils, and appointing members rather than designing machinery for peer group elections, confirms the aphorism that schools, like other complex formal organizations, will respond to external directives by making "the minimum become the maximum."

The same phenomenon can be seen if attention is focused on Councils' functions rather than structure. In Florida, as in South Carolina, each school (with the assistance of the School Council) is to prepare an Annual Report. The structure and format of the Report is left up to local discretion, provided, however, that it includes such information as: how well the school is meeting its goals and objectives; student progress and performance on State and district assessment tests; fiscal information; faculty, student and parents' concerns; school needs, and any other information deemed pertinent. In practice, however, discretion has created confusion rather than creativity. The 1974 survey concluded that (Florida, 1974:22):

> Presently many of the Reports appear to be compliance documents existing for no other reason than to satisfy a law. This serves the purposes of no one. The data provided must be meaningful and, where possible, integrated within the existing reporting structure of the school district and Department of Education.

The 1977 survey (Cunningham, et al., 1978) found that: 25 percent of Council chairpeople were not involved in the preparation of the Annual Report; only

50 percent of Council chairpeople found the Annual Report experience and format to be "useful as is"; 20 percent felt it to be "not particularly useful [and] should be continued [only] on a voluntary basis." Ambivalence and uncertainty about the Annual Report continues to the present. A ten-district study carried out by the staff of the Education Oversight Committee of the Florida House of Representatives (Florida, 1980:79-80) found that:

> When principals and superintendents were asked whether the Annual Report of school progress was valuable and should be continued, approximately three-fourths felt that the report went largely unread by most parents and was not worth the time and money required to produce.*

In both Florida and South Carolina, Councils' functions are intimately bound up with the Annual School Reports. And, in both States, there is confusion about Councils' functions. The Florida mandate gives local school boards wide discretion to prescribe functions. The only duty specifically assigned by Florida law is that Councils assist principals in the preparation of the Annual Report of school progress and that they "...provide such assistance as the principal may request [emphasis not in original] in preparing the school's annual budget." Field data from the 1980 Florida legislative survey, however, show mixed opinions about what Councils should be doing and how. The study (Florida, 1980:80) concludes that:

> Considerable confusion and frustration exists in all districts about the role of citizen advisory committees. In most districts, this uncertainty on the part of advisory council members about their role has resulted in many advisory councils limiting their activities to fund-raising projects.

Florida is not alone in its experience which reveals that latitude in prescribed functions leads to uncertainty, confusion, and minimal risk-taking.

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* The focus on the Florida experience is not intended as a blanket, comparative assessment of Florida vis-a-vis the other two States. Florida has had the longest standing mandate and thus has had more experience, more trial and error data upon which policymakers in other States can fashion their responses. Also, Florida's experience is documented in three rounds of significant State initiated evaluations--the oftmentioned 1974, 1977 and 1980 surveys. In fact, Florida's experience lends additional, albeit indirect, support to the thesis in Section 7.1, above, about the efficacy of evaluation. Each round of evaluation resulted in a legislative response and subsequent refinements in policies.

Survey data from South Carolina presented and discussed in Section Six also show that in those areas in which the mandate is permissive rather than prescriptive and general rather than specific, there is apt to be uncertainty and disagreement between parents and educators as to the appropriate functions for Councils.

This condition should not be unexpected. Mandates for citizen involvement require changes in schools' organizational practices. The fact that the mandate was deemed necessary in the first place indicates that there were few organizational incentives for educators to fashion spontaneously ways of citizen involvement in school decisionmaking. A general, vague and permissive mandate assumes that the mere enunciation of intent is sufficient grounds for local practitioners to change their behavior. But, given the organizational nature of schools, changing their behavior requires risk-taking. Experience from South Carolina and Florida shows that such risk-taking does not and will not often occur. In Florida, minimum requirements become maximums; in South Carolina, Sovde's survey data (cf. Sovde, 1980, as analyzed in Section Six, above) shows that the enunciation of permissive (i.e., "provide [any other] assistance as the principal may request as well as carry on other duties prescribed by the local school board") and implied (i.e., Councils' possible involvement in analyzing test data in the course of their role in preparing the Annual Report) functions only create confusion.

The policy implications which can be derived from the above discussion are general, but somewhat counter-intuitive: (i) Expect that minimum requirements will become maximum performances, hence, raise the minimum; and (ii) On important matters policies should be specific and prescriptive, otherwise the law or regulations should be silent. These maxims fly in the face of a generally accepted norm which is best captured in the following quote from the 1980 Florida survey (p. 81):

> The point was made repeatedly, however, that any legislation toward this end should be stated in terms of "product" not process; defining objectives but not the process by which objectives are to be achieved. <u>The more prescriptive a law or district policy becomes, it was agreed, the less effective it will be</u>. (Emphasis not in original.)

The data and analysis in this Report challenge that norm and the assumption that "less is better."* Instead, the experiences of Florida and South Carolina, as well as the research on the organizational characteristics of schools, vindicate policymakers' instincts in creating the apparent paradox that, sometimes, strong authoritative action on the part of central governments is necessary to promote local, grassroots democracy.

7.3.2 Councils Do Not Work As Accountability Mechanisms

In all three states, the citizen participation mandates discussed in this Report embody an expectation that School Councils can serve in an accountability role. Florida's mandate stemmed from a blue-ribbon Task Force Report (Improving Education In Florida, 1973:11) which concluded that "...the individual school should be the basic unit of educational accountability in Florida." And, in that same passage, it recommended that "...each school establish a School Advisory Council...." South Carolina's mandate for Councils is embedded in Section 6 (commonly referred to as the "accountability" section) of the Education Finance Act of 1977. The prefatory language to that mandate for Councils reads:

> Section 2 (1) School Districts shall give first spending priority of funds allocated under this act to full implementation of the defined minimum program. (2) The State Board of Education shall audit the programmatic and fiscal aspects of this act... (3) Each school district board of trustees shall cause each school in the district to prepare an annual written report.... Each school board of trustees shall establish an advisory council at each school...Each council shall assist in the preparation of the annual school report required in this section...

California legislation (Section 52021) states that the School Site Councils have the additional

> ...responsibility to review with the principal, teachers and other school personnel and pupils the implementation of the school improvement program and assess periodically the

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* The authors recognize the often useful political function played by general statements of purpose rather than specific prescriptions. Such statements of purpose stem from the legislative compromise often necessary to promulgate any new policy initiatives.

effectiveness of such programs. (Emphasis not in original.)

These emphases on the accountability functions of Councils are quite understandable and are based on the not unrealistic assumptions that public service delivery needs monitoring and that the beneficiaries of such services are in the best position to assess whether such services are in fact working or not. The expectation is that by creating mechanisms representing the clients, policymakers create an agency with a natural self-interest in monitoring service quality. These policy intents, and their accompanying assumptions and expectations, however, have to be weighed against the following data:

- In Florida, the policy is that the school building is the unit of accountability and that the "annual report of school progress (depicted by the Governor's 1972 Task Force as the "...report card of the school to the parents"), prepared with the assistance of the Council, be the main vehicle for accountability. But the 1980 Florida survey found that "...the Report went largely unread by parents."
- In South Carolina there is less consensus among educators and parents about the accountability role than any other functions. Functions which involved oversight or assessment of school practices and programs on the part of Councils were most controversial and received the lowest amount of support, generally, even from parents.
- The analysis of California's Program Reviews showed that few School Site Councils had developed evaluation procedures. Even Councils which were otherwise found to be highly effective were not able to play an accountability or assessment role.

These phenomena can be easily explained by understanding the nature of schools as organizations and the place of citizens' Councils in that organizational structure. As noted in Section 3.3.1, "A Systems Model of Schools," schools as organizations are constituted, in part, by professional norms. These norms sanction peer review but resist external assessment and performance. Given that in at least two of the States where Council membership consists of parents and teachers, any assumption of accountability functions would lead to internal conflict which few Councils can afford to sustain. Moreover, an organizational perspective reveals that Councils exist as appendages to, rather than as integrated

parts of the formal patterns of authority.

Functionally, an accountability agency must be independent of the practices which are being monitored and such an agency must have some sanctions over those practitioners whose behaviors are being held accountable. Structurally, Councils are not independent; they are inside-the-school system groups. To the extent that Councils participate in key school issues--curriculum, instruction--they are already involved in precisely those areas which are to be monitored. This, of course, creates a classic conflict of interest. It is neither logically nor psychologically possible to be the external monitor of practices in which one is a participant. Even more importantly, having no clear authority, Councils have no sanctions at their disposal which can lend credence to their assumption of an oversight role.

Any accountability agent has to have a formal and legitimate status apart from the institutions and practices it is overseeing. It has to be external to such institutions in the same way that a State education agency has authority to require an LEA to carry out State laws or the way a legislative oversight committee is external (via a constitutional separation of powers) to executive branch agencies whose actions it oversees. It has to be in a position of superior, and not subordinate, parallel, or shared, authority to those whose practices it holds accountable. For example, the warrant for the status of a legislative oversight committee is the constitutional principle of "legislative supremacy." It is precisely these formal attributes that School Councils now lack. Given the present structure of school governance, Councils will continue to lack those attributes.

7.4 WHAT MIGHT WORK

The authors' suggestions about what might work have to be contingent: "If policymakers want to do 'X', then, based on the evidence in this Report, they might consider doing 'Y' and 'Z'." Moreover, the suggestions are also contingent on the circumstances unique to each State.

7.4.1 If Accountability Is the Intent, Then...

It must be clear from the preceding discussion of "what doesn't work"

that present organizational realities of schools are such that Councils cannot be mechanisms for accountability. As wholly-owned, "inside" organizations, they cannot play a watchdog or monitoring role. Hence, if State policymakers want to have local parents and citizens perform an accountability function through School Councils, then they must make major structural changes in school governance. If accountability is the intent, then "what might work" is some form of school based management where major decisions about personnel, budget, and program are delegated by the central board of education to the building level where the School Council becomes, in effect, a mini-school board (cf. L. Pierce, et al., 1975:101; Cunningham, et al., 1978:18-82). Under such a plan, Councils would receive specific delegated authority from the central board and would be accountable to that board (Huguenin, Zerchykov and Davies, 1979: 98-102). Councils would have formal authority and responsibility. The respective duties of the principal --the site's chief administrative officer--and the Council would be clearly spelt out, as would be relations between the site and the superintendent, central office staff, and the school board. Respcnsibility for school effectiveness would be largely centered on the school site--with the principal and the Council sharing authority. The central board would, of course, monitor and assess the way the principal and site Council carry out this responsibility.

Such a major structural change would bring significant decisionmaking to the level of greatest parent and citizen interest and involvement--the school site. Thus, there would be incentives for principals to work positively with Councils, which would provide both policy guidance and support for getting the resources needed by the school. Obviously, State legislation would be required for such structural change.

7.4.2 If Increased Public Support for Schools Is the Intent, Then...

Many policymakers appear to favor School Councils as a means to increase the base of economic and political support for the public schools. If this is the intent, then "what might work" as a policy option would be to broaden the constituency of Councils themselves and provide incentives for networking

between Councils and community organizations and agencies.

In a previous "Report to Policymakers" (Huguenin, Zerchykov and Davies, 1979), the authors of this Report recommended that States establish umbrella Councils at each school site. These umbrella Councils would be formed from representatives of target groups (such as Title I), peer groups (such as teachers and administrators), and other community institutions (such as voluntary parent interest groups, health agencies, community development corporations, and neighborhood associations). In that Report, it was recommended that States require the different target groups, peer groups and other relevant parties to participate in drafting a school site charter for the umbrella Council "which would specify: function, membership, composition, and formal mechanisms by which umbrella councils would represent various interest groups at the school site and in the community."

Creating an umbrella Council is just one possible way for States to broaden the constituency of site Councils. Another way would be for legislation or regulations to require representation of specified target groups and community organizations and agencies.

As noted above in this Section, the Florida mini-grant program also offers a useful tool for policymakers who wish to broaden the constituency of the site Council. The mini-grants give the Councils resources to exchange with other groups and thus lay the basis for networking--resource exchanges.

Both broadening the membership of Councils and providing them with support for networking through mini-grants are incremental policy steps which do not involve structural change or new legislation. These steps are clearly connected to the intent of increasing public support for the school as they increase the number of people with some formal "ownership" in school affairs.

7.4.3 If School Improvement Is the Intent, Then...

If the intent of policymakers is primarily to increase school effectiveness, and at the same time involve parents at the local level, then consideration must be given to a significant modification in Council functions. There is one modification in function for which a strong case

can be made based on the analysis in the six previous Sections of this Report, and in other IRE reports. "What might work" to foster school improvement is that Councils could become vehicles through which parents and educators can jointly improve instruction. This is a function termed "co-production."*

7.5 COUNCILS AS VEHICLES OF CO-PRODUCTION

The phrase co-production refers to the contributions that clients and consumers make to the production of services, especially public services such as health, sanitation, police protection, and education. Some examples are community anti-crime efforts such as Neighborhood Watch, curbside instead of backyard pickup of trash, self-examination to identify indicators of breast cancer, or parents working with their own children at home to supplement school instruction.

The case for co-production can be made on either economic or quality of services grounds. Co-production can, under some circumstances, contain or reduce the costs of public services, as in the example of curbside trash pickup. In a time of declining resources and heavy competition for public service dollars, the potential economic benefits of co-production have received some attention by analysts. Preventive early identification of children's health or learning problems by those in the home can reduce the severity of subsequent in-school problems and, in some instances, the need for costly remedial or supplementary services. However, it is not direct cost-savings that provide the strongest case for co-production.

Co-production can best be supported on the grounds that the resources, skills and motivations brought to bear by the client or consumer are intimately connected with the level of achieved output. In fact, high quality services may only be possible when there is a reasonably high level of co-production. The view that professionals in education and other fields

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* The authors of this Report are indebted for the word "co-production" and much provocative work on the concept to a group of scholars at the Workshop in Political Theory in Policy Analysis, Indiana University. None of the co-production studies have yet been focused on schools. (cf., Kiser and Percy, 1980; Parks, et al., 1980.)

"deliver services" to passive recipients who make little significant contribution to the process is challenged directly by research and by common sense.

When applied to the schools, co-production means a mixing of the organized productive efforts of the "regular" producers of educational services (teachers, counselors, administrators, specialists), the direct consumers (students), and the indirect educational consumers (parents). The word "organized" is important as some co-production occurs inevitably and informally as a parent helps a child with homework or chaperones a field trip.

7.5.1 Characteristics of Co-Production: What It Is

There are several key characteristics of organized co-production, if the concept is to be applicable and acceptable to professionals and citizens involved in the public schools, and engage the energies and commitment of School Councils.

First, the activities must be directed at the core of the school program--instruction, especially including the basic subjects--and offer an organized way in which the school's production in basic educational services can be improved. Without being directed, with substance, at the core of the school program, the co-production function can be easily made trivial.

Second, co-production requires collaborative planning by the "regular producers" and the "consumer producers" including reaching consensus on the educational needs of students and on instructional goals. Reaching consensus requires discussion and negotiation.

Third, after consensus on instructional goals is achieved, responsibilities must be assigned and accepted by all affected parties--student, parent, teacher, counselors, specialists, administrators. Once again, discussion and negotiation are essential.

Fourth, both authority and blame must be shared. If planning is collaborative, if consensus about instructional goals is achieved, and if responsibilities can be distributed clearly and appropriately, then all parties will have accordingly a share of the power and the responsibility. All share credit for achieving goals and blame for failure to do so.

Fifth, a functioning model of organized co-production requires collaborative assessment of process and results and mechanisms for the alteration of plans and policies.

Co-production with these characteristics is a deliberate, coordinated and formally recognized process. It is also a process that requires a sequence of steps:

- Determining educational needs (individual or for groups of children).
- Collaboratively setting and clarifying objectives.
- Identifying available and needed resources.
- Negotiating and assigning responsibilities.
- Reporting on and monitoring results.

7.5.2 Characteristics of Co-Production: What It Is Not

A "model" for co-production has been sketched above which is sharply differentiated from many of the common practices of parent and citizen involvement in the schools through School Councils. Co-production is not giving advice--lay people offering advice to school administrators about school policies or administrative practices. It is participating directly in collaborative planning and in producing educational services including such activities as tutoring, assisting with or monitoring one's own children's school work at home, providing resources for instruction or identifying and correcting problems which may interfere with learning in the school.

Similarly, co-production is different from usual programs of accountability in which goals are set up by the school and an external group monitors and assesses. Co-production requires mutually agreed upon goals and shared responsibility. Accountability is internal, not external. Co-production is also different from most activities in which school officials identify problems, determine goals or program needs, and ask the parent for help on the school officials' terms. And it is explicitly different from the approach in which educators assign most of the problems of schools to the characteristics or the failings of the community or the family. The co-production model rejects "blaming the victim" and requires sharing both

power and blame.

Co-production is also not the same as self-help, in which the service is produced exclusively or nearly exclusively by the consumer. The co-production model in the school requires the participation of competent professionals--more, not less, professional expertise is needed. But the co-production model assumes that professionals do not have a monopoly on talent and expertise and are not the only parties with a stake in school improvement.

7.5.3 Benefits of Co-Production

A focus on school improvement through co-production has several benefits. From the point of view of State policymakers and local school boards, the idea is responsive to strong demands by elected officials and citizens for increased "school productivity" (often simply meaning better results for the increased public investment), for more emphasis on the basic skills components of the instructional program, and for helping all children achieve a level of minimum competency by the time of high school graduation.

From the point of view of parents, the idea of co-production should be attractive. IRE studies show that most parents are primarily interested in instructional questions and not in policies, politics and power. Most parents who become involved do so because they want better schooling for their own children. Thus, more parents will be induced to participate if the benefits of participation are seen to be related to this primary concern for better school programs. The rational decisionmaking assumption made at the beginning of this Section suggests that individuals choose to participate on the basis of an informal calculation of the cost of the activity (time, money, emotional strain) in relation to its perceived benefits. The cost of participation in school affairs is often perceived as high by many parents, especially low-income and minority parents. While it is difficult for policymakers to reduce the cost, they can increase the benefit side of the formula by seeking to tie participation as directly as possible to improvements in school effectiveness.

From the point of view of parents, the co-production model described here can be a very direct, cost-effective way for "consumers" to influence the nature and quality of educational services. By definition, the

co-producer exercises power by being involved directly in planning and producing the services. In addition, the negotiated aspects of the model provide for varying degrees of involvement by varying co-producers depending on interests, time and skills.

From the point of view of teachers and administrators, co-production should be viewed as less threatening than other forms of parent participation because:

- It involves parents in collaborative rather than adversarial relationships.
- It affords protection to professional interests and prerogatives (because the model requires negotiated agreement).
- It increases the human resources available to the school.
- It focuses on the central concern of educators and parents: better instruction.
- It provides for sharing blame as well as authority.

From the point of view of all concerned about the public schools, the co-production model can contribute to making schools more effective by fostering a deliberate, coordinated process of assessing needs, setting objectives, and assigning responsibilities. Recent research indicates that such a concentrated focus on instruction is characteristic of those schools that are more effective. To the extent that the public schools do become more effective, their base of support among parents and others in the community may be increased. The joint ownership that can come as a part of co-production can also stem eroding political and economic support of the public schools.

7.5.4 Implications for State Policymakers

If co-production appears to state policymakers to be a promising means to achieve school improvement through citizen participation, then there are several policy implications that should be considered. If the concept is to be translated into reality, several needs can be met by the action of State policymakers. These needs are:

- A vehicle or agency to coordinate the work.
- A planning mechanism.

- Legitimation of the concept.
- Resources.
- Reinforcement.

Each of these needs are discussed briefly below.

(i) Need for a Vehicle. An agency or vehicle is required to implement the concept. The agency must be one that includes and is credible to citizens and educators and it must have official status. School Councils, as they exist in Florida and South Carolina, are well suited to serve this function, and, in California, the School Improvement Councils are already conceptually structured according to the co-productive model. Councils include among their members parents, teachers, administrators, students (in the case of secondary schools) and, hence, are already a forum where the key participants required to make the co-production model work have already come together. Councils are public bodies, created by the State and recognized by local education agencies. Moreover, site Councils are, by mandate and tradition, focused on a particular school, on its student body and its needs. In these States, no legislative action is required. In other States, legislation to create school site Councils would be needed.

(ii) Need for a Planning Mechanism. Since the model of organized co-production sketched in these pages is built around collaborative planning, a planning mechanism is needed. In California, designing a school improvement plan is already a required task for School Councils. In the case of Florida and South Carolina, the Annual Report process could become the planning mechanism. In both States, the Annual Report process focuses on instruction and requires the involvement of both parents and educators. However, regulations and instructions for the Annual Report would have to be sharpened and made more specific if it is to serve the co-production function in a focused and deliberate way.

Yet another mechanism might be considered as a way to implement the co-production concept; an adaptation of the Individual Education Plan (IEP). The IEP is currently employed for handicapped children in districts receiving Federal funds under Public Law 94-142. The IEP is a formal process

involving teachers, specialists, administrators, health professionals, and parents who have a right to participate directly and to approve the plan developed for their child. The IEP provides an orderly, even if sometimes cumbersome and time consuming, way to assess the learning needs of children, develop educational plans to meet those needs, and assign responsibilities to teachers, specialists, the student and the home. A simplified adaptation of the IEP model could become a key part of a co-production mandate by State policymakers.

(iii) Need for Legitimation. The concept of co-production, once it is more fully developed, described and written into policy, must be made legitimate by State leadership. The public information tools available to State education agencies, the State legislature, and supportive state citizen and professional organizations can contribute importantly toward such legitimation. As with any public policy, effective implementation requires that the State's intent and support be reaffirmed and clarified in a variety of visible ways.

(iv) Need to Provide Resources. The implementation of co-production in a local school district requires little if any new money. However, the co-production function can be supported through financial incentives. The Florida mini-grant program is one good example. Programs such as this, if developed in other States, can be used to encourage the development and testing of the deliberate, coordinated process of mixing consumer and producer services to provide educational services. Other external funding sources such as California's School Improvement Program and the Federal ESEA Title IV-C can also be used as incentives to spur the testing of the co-production concept at many school sites.

(v) Need to Reinforce the Concept. State policies to encourage co-production can be reinforced two ways: (a) through monitoring and evaluation; and (b) through training.

(a) Monitoring and Evaluation: As noted earlier, mandates for citizen participation are particularly difficult to enforce. However, California's Program Review model appears to be an effective way for policymakers to monitor and evaluate new initiatives which require changes in

local practices. If co-production is to be stressed as a function for School Councils, then the evaluation instruments and procedures should explicitly emphasize that function. Once again, evaluation instruments and procedures are tools by which policymakers can clarify and reaffirm the intent of a policy.

(b) Training: Training for citizens and educators is another tool for reinforcement. In the case of training of educators, the State can revise certification requirements and seek to have programs which provide for in-service training stressing those elements which policymakers deem most significant. In the case of parents, opportunities to learn new content and new skills may enhance the efficacy of the co-production process. Many organizations and agencies (e.g., regional labs, national organizations working to encourage parent involvement, school volunteers and some State education agencies) have materials available that can be used at the school site to help parents learn substantive content that they need to be effective as co-producers (e.g., how to reinforce phonics skills).*

7.5.5 A Caveat About Co-Production

In many schools across the country, elements of co-production are already in place. Certainly, the School Improvement Program in California is already well on its way in this direction. The policy option proposed here gives more emphasis to the concept and develops it into a model at the school site that is organized, coordinated and deliberate. The concept of co-production has been merely introduced in this Section. Much more work needs to be done to define, clarify, develop and test it out.

There is a danger that the idea and the word will be turned into a gimmick--another educational catch-word or fad. There is a danger that the idea will be touted as a quick-fix, an easy answer to some of the substantive and political problems the schools are facing.

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* It is important to point out here that elaborate, expensive and lengthy training for either citizen or educator is not required to implement a plan for increased co-production at the school site.

Nonetheless, the risk is worth taking. The concept of co-production warrants serious consideration by State policymakers. It may provide the kind of imaginative coalition between parents and professionals that is needed for school improvement. The concept has promise, provided it is the intent of policymakers to foster citizen participation in school improvement.

7.5 A FINAL NOTE

A contingency approach has been followed in presenting considerations about "what might work." The authors recognize that many policymakers will have multiple interests and purposes as they consider initiatives such as School Councils. But, implicit in the message of this Report, is the point that mixed and sometimes conflicting intents reflected in policy initiatives are often counter-productive. More explicit is the message that there should be a carefully tailored match between the purpose and the policy steps taken to achieve that purpose. Otherwise, there is a danger that School Councils will be burdened with a variety of mission impossibles, and that they will fail to meet the expectations of policymakers, citizens or educators, and fade away.

The authors have a stake in seeing the pioneering efforts in California, Florida and South Carolina succeed and in having other States learn from those experiences as they plan their own initiatives. The three States deserve high commendation for serving as laboratories in this policy arena for the rest of the country.

It is hoped that the information and analysis in this Report will be of use to policymakers in those States that served as the basis for this Report and to policymakers in other States as they consider ways to increase citizen participation and improve the public schools.

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ABOUT THE INSTITUTE FOR RESPONSIVE EDUCATION

The Institute for Responsive Education (IRE) is a private, non-profit national research, policy analysis and technical assistance organization with a seven-year history of conducting studies on and disseminating information about community involvement in school decisionmaking. Although private and independent, IRE is housed at Boston University, where its President and founder, Don Davies, formerly Deputy Commissioner in the United States Office of Education, is now Professor in the School of Education.

Founded on the premises that citizen participation is an essential ingredient in school improvement and that citizens' access to information is indispensable for effective participation, IRE has, throughout its seven-year history, produced more than 21 reports including field-research monographs, bibliographies and literature reviews, and translations of complex, educational issues into popular form.

This Report is but the latest of a series of IRE efforts to better understand and assist citizen participation on Advisory Councils and disseminate the results of our research and experience to citizens, educators and policymakers. Due to prior support from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation (in 1976-1977 and 1977-1978), IRE has been able to establish a clearinghouse of materials on Advisory Councils and has conducted small-scale field studies on a national sample of 17 School Advisory Councils (cf. Stanton, Zerchykov, et al., 1979). Such efforts were supplemented by other IRE projects pertaining to Advisory Councils.

For example: IRE has recently completed, under contract to the United States Office of Education, a series of "Working Papers" defining training needs, translating research findings, and synthesizing available materials to aid citizen participation on Teacher Corps Community Councils. This was preceded by a six-months' (winter and spring of 1978) exploratory "needs assessment" of community councils in four Teacher Corps project sites across the country--

in Florida, Maine, Texas and Washington. Under contract to the National Institute of Education, IRE has also recently completed a 3-year study (1976-79) of citizen participation in education which produced: (i) a Final Research Report of an 18-month field study (on a sample of 18 community organizations, including Advisory Councils, in three cities) of community organization effectiveness in mobilizing citizen participation in education (Gittell, et al., 1979); (ii) an 800 item Annotated Bibliography on citizen participation in education (Davies and Zerchykov, 1978); and (iii) a report to state policymakers on community involvement mechanisms which drew upon three years of bibliographic, survey, and field research (Huguenin, Zerchykov and Davies, 1979). IRE staff also served on an Evaluation Team with a specific sub-contract to assess Florida's mandate for Local School Advisory Committees (Cunningham, et al., 1978: 214-296).

Such field work has provided IRE with the foundation from which to recommend policy changes at the national and state level. In all of its work, IRE stresses a combination of study and action which makes for richer and more useful research and for action that has a solid base of data and experience. Hence, in addition to conducting studies and producing reports aimed primarily at policymakers, IRE has continued to collect and disseminate materials for community groups interested in school decisionmaking. To this end, IRE houses an ongoing Clearinghouse of Information for citizens and, when possible, responds to individual and group requests for assistance. Through its Clearinghouse, IRE addresses community-based education needs by the continual collection of reports, studies and handbooks, the publication of packets and resource guides and, whenever possible, the dissemination of information in response to phone calls and written requests. Informal responses to such requests led us to discuss ways of stimulating citizen involvement with State Department of Education officials from California, New York, Rhode Island and New Jersey. Responding to requests from citizens' groups and local school districts has taken IRE to California, Kentucky, Florida and New Hampshire.

These experiences as well as the Clearinghouse information are shared by IRE's participation in regional and national conferences and disseminated through our national newsletter, Citizen Action in Education (CAE). With a subscription list of nearly 24,000, CAE reports on current developments and models in the field of citizen participation in educational decisionmaking. It also links parents, citizens and school personnel who are interested in Councils as a type of citizen involvement.

In order to expand the Clearinghouse and its utility, we openly invite more materials on Councils such as formal and informal evaluations, dissertations, and materials developed by and for school Advisory Councils. We are especially interested in cases of Advisory Council involvement in school program improvement. This will assist us in our efforts to provide more specific information to groups and individuals requesting assistance. Please send materials and ideas to:

Betsy Wachtel or Ross Zerchykov
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Ross Zerchykov, IRE's Senior Policy Analyst, and currently a dissertation candidate in Political Theory at Boston University, had primary responsibility for drafting this Report. Zerchykov had conducted a prior review of the research on School Advisory Councils (Stanton and Zerchykov, 1977; Huguenin, Zerchykov and Davies, 1979) and had, in a previous Mott Foundation supported Advisory Council project, conducted by IRE, served as the field coordinator for South Carolina sites (Stanton, Zerchykov, et al., 1979). He has also directed the Institute's project, supported by the U.S. Office of Education, to provide information and analytic services to Teacher Corps Community Councils. This project included designing and writing several reports synthesizing and translating for practitioners, i.e., local Teacher Corps Community Council members and project personnel, the latest research on community involvement and schools' organizational adaptation to mandates for community involvement.

Overall direction was provided by IRE President, Don Davies. In this undertaking, Davies drew upon his experience as Associate Commissioner and then Deputy Commissioner for Development in the U.S. Office of Education, as an advocate and student of citizen participation for a decade, and as a consultant and researcher for State legislators and education agencies. Davies was Principal Investigator of a large, three-year study of citizen organizations funded by the National Institute of Education, and has written and spoken extensively on the topics of school-community relations and parent/citizen involvement. He has authored more than 15 publications and has most recently edited Communities and Their Schools, to be published in December 1980 by McGraw Hill and Kettering Foundation's I/D/E/A, which describes innovative and exemplary practices in community/school relations.

Primary responsibility for extensive data-analysis and initial draft preparation of Section Four, "Program Reviews in California," lies with Janet Chrispeels, a member of IPEN (Information Project

on Educational Negotiations), the Project's site organization in California. Ms. Chrispeels, a long-time activist--she is a former Education Committee member and President of the San Diego League of Women Voters--has experience in designing and conducting citizen action research studies. These studies included a participant-based self-evaluation of a district level Advisory Committee in San Diego (Stanton, Zerchykov, et al., 1979: 103-132) and a case study of local community involvement in educational collective bargaining (Hamer, et al., 1979: 73-95).